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A Door in the Choir, Canterbury Cathedral.

Published Sept. 1854 by Edmund Beale & Son, 12, Mark Lane.

8

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
Cathedral Churches
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
A SERIES OF HIGHLY-FINISHED ENGRAVINGS,
Exhibiting general and particular Views, Ground Plans, and all the architectural Features and
Ornaments in the various Styles of Building used in our

Ecclesiastical Edifices.

BY JAMES STORER.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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(H.C. 1830.)

Preface.



THE impressive effect of our cathedral churches is universally admitted ; their variety, grandeur, and beauty, have long been subjects of admiration. No other country can boast of an equal number of religious edifices so exquisitely ornamented, so diversified in their structure, yet, at the same time, so harmonious and magnificent in their general appearance. All persons who behold them instantly feel anxious to know something of their historical antiquity. With their history is involved that of religion, which affords a practical illustration of the nature and operations of the human mind. In the origin and progress of religious edifices we discover the influence of devotional feelings ; the condition and extent of these buildings evince the expansion of human intellect, the state of the arts, the march of civilization, and the meliorating circumstances of social man. Unhappily, the political annalist is too often obliged to exhibit only views of tyranny and ambition, fraud, rapine, and carnage. The ecclesiastical historian, although not entirely exempt from similar horrors, has always the advantage of being engaged with objects superior to those of mere sense ; he is led to the consideration of subjects almost entirely intellectual, to that which concerns the higher, the divine-like faculties of man. Hence the decided superiority of the ecclesiastical over the political historian, the religionist over the warrior. The destruction of an Amalekite by a javelin, or the death of a European by the sword, are acts too analogous to " present a quarry to the busy mind ;" but the erection of an altar or temple in Judea, or a church in Britain, furnishes inexhaustible sources of rational inquiry. The history of the origin, condition, and vicissitudes of such works certainly offers one of the most innocent if not most meritorious of mental enjoyments. Neither the books on the wars of the Israelites, nor the recorded wisdom of Solomon exhibit such clear and definite views of the skill and talents of the Hebrews, as the building of the temple at Jerusalem. Its structure demonstrates the existence

PREFACE.

at least of great mechanical dexterity. In like manner the construction of churches develops the taste, skill, and mechanical genius, of the age and nation. If we add to the history of their fabrication a view of the rites for which they were destined, we may thence discover how the progress of the arts has surpassed that of the sciences, and at the same time learn the causes which have obstructed the diffusion of true religion and useful knowledge.

In the sketches of history and antiquities, here respectfully submitted to the public, it was natural for protestants and lovers of antiquity to adopt the language and sentiments of the great fathers of the English church.—The following accounts of our cathedrals are chiefly the works of persons who, having finished their university education, have visited, either as travelling fellows or private inquirers, the different countries of Europe—who have personally witnessed the effects of idolatrous ceremonies, and of true religion on society; and who felt it a sacred duty to state the facts to such of their countrymen as may not have had similar opportunities of observing the miseries of superstition and ignorance.

The Editors cannot omit this opportunity of returning their grateful acknowledgements to the right reverend prelates, divines, and private gentlemen, who have liberally aided their exertions; and, as the writers are not the artists, they may be permitted to speak of the latter, and say from their personal knowledge, that the plates exhibit more faithful portraitures of the different edifices than any hitherto laid before the public.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE

OF

St. Asaph.

THE Ordovices, or ancient inhabitants of North Wales¹, amidst those horrors of unprovoked warfare which terminated in the subjugation of their country by the Romans, were consoled and sustained by the introduction of christianity. A glorious and lasting recompense for the evils inflicted by the conqueror's sword! The exact period at which religious associations were first formed in Cambria, for the purpose of regular christian worship, is involved in impenetrable doubt. This historical gloom may, however, be readily dispelled, if we give credence to the marvellous tales of certain early writers, amongst whom is conspicuous Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was afterwards promoted to the episcopal bench, and filled the see now under consideration. This legendary writer enlarges on a hint afforded by Nennius, and presents a formal account of the church of Britain, together with a minute detail of its ecclesiastical divisions, in the second century. According to Geoffrey, a British king, named Lucius, became a convert to christianity about the year 164, and was followed, as might be expected, by multitudes of his subjects. With the aid of two holy doctors, sent from Rome with the intent of affording him spiritual counsel, king Lucius now transformed the idolatrous temples of the Britons into places of christian worship; and the repentant priests of those purified temples were also admitted into the bosom of the church, and were constituted archbishops and bishops. The seats

¹ The names and territories of the British tribes which inhabited Wales, at the time of the Roman invasion, are thus stated by the rev. T. Leman, in his Commentary on the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester. "The Silures, with their two dependant tribes, the Dimecia and the Ordovices, possessed all the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, together with the island of Anglesey. Of these territories, the Dimecia had the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Caermarthen; while the Silures possessed all the rest of South Wales. The Ordovices occupied all North Wales, as well as all the country to the north of the Teme, and to the west of the Severn and the Dee, except a small tract to the west of Bangor and Penmorway, which, together with the isle of Anglesey, belonged to their subordinate clan, the Cangani." Commentary on Richard, &c. p. 49, corrected by a MS. communication of the author.

of the three former members of this novel hierarchy, Geoffrey places at York, London, and Caerlon. Giraldus Cambrensis enlarges still farther on this legend, and enters more circumstantially on the modes of ecclesiastical government adopted by the royal convert: but it will be seen that the whole is unsupported by any credible authority, and is, indeed, contrary to the uniform tenour of sober history founded on ancient attestation. The very existence of a British king named Lucius is extremely doubtful; and, if such a prince be not, indeed, the creation of cloistered fancy, he must have been merely the petty chieftain of one of the numerous states into which South Britain was then divided, the whole of which were under the control of the Roman government. Gildas, our earliest native historian, who wrote in the sixth century, and was a zealous christian, is entirely silent on this important subject. That episcopacy was coeval in Britain with the establishment of christianity, under the sanction of the civil power, will, however, scarcely be denied. It is observed by an acute writer on the early history of the Britons, "that the Roman conquests among us were regularly partitioned into dioceses, as early, at least, as the year 314. The first bishoprics of the church would naturally be commensurate with the provinces of the state; and the first sees of the bishops would be settled at the capitals of the provinces. In consequence of the former, the bishoprics assumed the general denominations of provinces and dioceses; and, in consequence of the latter, they adopted the distinguishing appellations of the provincial capitals. The first dioceses in Britain, therefore, would be the same as the provinces of the Romans; and must have been, like them, only four in number, within the compass of the present England and Wales." The prelate of that district, which was termed by the conquerors Britannia Secunda, had, undoubtedly, his see at Caerleon, the Roman metropolis of the latter country.

The interests of christianity in Cambria were greatly advanced in the fifth century by the pious labours of St. Germain, who judiciously endeavoured to avert the dangers of idolatry and heresy (which appear to have been viewed as almost equal evils) by the foundation of colleges and schools. In the pursuit of this laudable object he was stimulated by the celebrity and powerful influence of the memorable institution at Bangor-Iscoed; and, in the succeeding century, these conspicuous examples were partly imitated in a monastic foundation immediately connected with the origin of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Asaph. According to tradition, and the tenour of those monkish writers from whom we are compelled to seek information

whilst investigating the story of most early religious establishments in this country, Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, (called in the Scottish histories, St. Mungo) was driven from his episcopal see of Glasgow, through the machinations of a pagan prince of the country, about the year 543, and fled for protection into Wales. He was here received by the good St. David, and found a learned shelter at Menevia; but the talents and activity of the fugitive were too great for lasting seclusion in a subordinate rank, and he soon devised the plan of a religious institution, calculated to call forth his energies, and to place him in the possession of useful power. Cathwallain, prince of Wales, assigned him a spot near the river Elwy for his new establishment; and he there built a monastery resembling, in many particulars, that at Bangor-Iscoed; and erected his ecclesiastical precinct into an episcopal see. The monastery, thus raised through the exertions of an individual who had recently entered the country under circumstances so unpropitious, was speedily attended with a degree of prosperity that must reflect much credit on the piety and zeal of the founder, if the assertions of early writers be received as satisfactory historical testimonials. It is said that during the superintendence of Kentigern there were assembled here no less than 965 brethren many of whom were, however, employed in secular avocations. Three hundred, "who were illiterate," were appointed to cultivate the ground and watch the cattle belonging to the monastery. Three hundred more were also incapable of exalted duties; and this large part of the fraternity was employed, as we are told, in preparing "nourishment," and performing other necessary works. The remaining 365 were "learned," and were assigned to the daily celebration of divine offices. Not any of these latter members of the establishment were suffered to quit the monastery unless under circumstances of imperative necessity; and they were divided into "troops and companies, so that when one had finished the service of God in the church, another presently came in and began it again; which being ended, a third, without any delay, entered. By these means prayers were offered in that church without any intermission, and the praises of God were always in their mouths." In erecting his episcopal church Kentigern experienced much opposition from a prince named Malgo, or Maglocun; but this early enemy of the foundation afterwards became one of its most useful patrons, and bestowed on the see ample possessions and many privileges. The building was at first composed of wood, but it was shortly, according to the annals of St. Kentigern, renewed with stone; and it may be observed that, if this statement be correct, the ancient cathedral of our diocese was amongst the first churches

formed of so durable a material³. But it must not be concealed that the writings, whence such an assertion is derived, are scarcely older than the 14th century. Kentigern presided over the see, which he had created with so much ease and such lasting success, until the year 560; when he was recalled to Scotland, his native country, and was there restored to the peaceable possession of his former dignities⁴. On quitting his memorable asylum in Wales he appointed as his successor ASAPH, one of the most learned and devout of his disciples, who is described, in the language of the cloisters, as being "especially illustrious for his descent and form; who, from his childhood, shone brightly, both with virtues and miracles; and who daily endeavoured to imitate his master in all sanctity and abstinence." On the basis of this, and similar strains of commendation, more recent and judicious writers have temperately inferred that he was a man conspicuous for virtue, learning, and piety; and the justice of the inference may be admitted without hesitation, when we remember the influence which he obtained over the Welsh of his own time, and the durable marks of reverence bestowed on his memory. The church erected by Kentigern had hitherto been called Lanelwy, from its situation near the banks of the Elwy river; but the veneration of a succeeding age induced a popular change of its appellation, which received the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities; and it was thenceforwards commonly entitled, as at present, the Cathedral of St. Asaph. In this choice of a patron-saint it is observable that the founder of the church was entirely overlooked, whilst the esteem of the people was considered the only criterion of right to an honour of such great importance in the early centuries. The reputation of St. Asaph was, as usual, much increased, in succeeding dark and credulous ages, by monkish narrations of pretended miracles; but amidst the fantastical wildness of such legends are still to be discovered some traces of sound judgment and great excellence of heart. According to the character transmitted to posterity, he appears to have displayed many dignified qualities in the exercise of his episcopal functions. His favourite aphorism may be thus translated, and it affords a compendious notion of the accuracy and the elegance of his mind: "Those who impede the progress of God's word envy the happiness of man." The merits and the doc-

³ Although there is cause for conjecturing, from the words of venerable Bede, that several of the principal churches erected in South Britain, shortly after the conversion of Ethelbert, A. D. 561, were constructed of stone, it will be recollected that the first ecclesiastical edifice, which he positively describes as being formed of that material, was the old church of St. Peter's, at York, begun about the year 627.

⁴ The principal ancient authorities for the biography of St. Kentigern are as follow:—A life of Kentigern in the Cottonian library, written by Jocelinus, a monk of Furness, who is supposed to have lived about the year 1180;—the writings of John of Tynemouth, a monk of the 14th century;—and the documents collected by Pinkerton, in his *Lives of the Scottish Saints*.

trines of this saint were rendered additionally acceptable to his diocese on account of his being a native of North Wales. He died May 1st⁵, 596, and was buried in his own cathedral.

After the decease of St. Asaph little is known respecting the annals of this diocese for the long term of five centuries. It may, however, be ascertained, from the general history of Wales, that during this period the bishopric experienced great severity of fortune. From its situation near the borders of England this lone unguarded district was peculiarly exposed to the incursions of marauding parties, and was often laid waste by their depredations. Sacrilegious spoliation was, at best, considered as a venial offence by the ferocious freebooters of these early ages, and was often viewed by them as the desirable consummation of triumphant enterprize. Hence, could we penetrate the gloom that involves this lengthened period of local history, we should, too likely, find that our cathedral was frequently reduced to a state of ruin; and that the ministers of christianity were, for long intervals, scared away from its profaned altars. From the silence of all record it has been inferred by many writers, that no bishops were nominated to this see during these five dreary centuries; and it has been observed, that "the continuance of the church of St. Asaph, in early times, without a bishop, may be further evinced from its situation in the great road, where all the armies took their rout on making incursions from England into these parts of Wales; the inland parts being impassable by reason of the hills and forests; so that St. Asaph may, before the 11th century, be not only supposed to be left without a resident bishop, but almost without inhabitants." Wharton, however, whilst he admits it as being probable that, during these times of confusion, our bishopric often remained without a presiding prelate, still supposes that many were nominated; and a recent editor of Willis accounts for the silence of history respecting their names, by observing that, in these ages, the clergy of Wales were uniformly accustomed to choose their own bishops, no register of whom was kept⁶. Notwithstanding the want of solid historical foundation, some modern authors have accepted the single, unsupported, testimony of Wynne⁷, and have attributed to this see a prelate in the 10th century, named Chebur; who is said, by that author, to have

⁵ On this day a fair was anciently held at St. Asaph. Browne Willis observes, that "the regard had to St. Asaph's anniversary, viz. May 1st, appears from appointments of payments of money, and other orders relating to usages and customs in this church, which commence on this festival."—*Willis's Bangor*, p. 60.

⁶ Edwards's edition of Willis's Survey of St. Asaph, p. 43.—The first instance of a bishop being appointed by the king occurs in the year 1115; when Bernard, a Norman, was appointed bishop of St. David's by Henry I.

⁷ Wynne's Hist. of Wales, p. 52.

7
accompanied Lanuerd, or Lambert, archbishop of St. David's, and other sage and prudent persons, to Rome, for the ratification of certain laws enacted in 940 by Howel Ddha. But no such bishop is mentioned by any other historian of Wales, or noticed by Godwin, Wharton, or similar writers of acknowledged research in episcopal history. The solitary evidence of Wyune will, therefore, scarcely be received as decisive by the cautious investigator; and if his testimony be declined, it will be found that the first bishop after St. Asaph, whose name has been preserved, is Gilbert, who is said to have been consecrated in 1143 by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury; and is memorable, as being the first bishop of our diocese who received consecration at the hands of that metropolitan. Gilbert sat about eight years, and was succeeded by a prelate whose name is familiar with most readers, but as a fabulist, rather than as a churchman. Geoffrey, of Monmouth, who was also called Galfridus Arthurius, but whose proper name was Geoffrey ap Arthur, is believed to have been promoted to this see in the year 1152. He is known to posterity from having translated into Latin a British history, intituled "*Brut y Breninodd*," or the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain; which he called "*Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*." The romantic and legendary tales interspersed in this work were treated with derision, even in the unlettered age at which they were first presented to public notice. Many critics, in succeeding periods, thought the whole to be a forgery imposed upon the world by Geoffrey under the name of a translation: but this Chronicle of British Kings is now generally supposed to be founded on authentic, but irregular and defective documents, embellished by the translator with some of the wildest creations of romantic fancy. It is pleasing to find the memory of our bishop cleared from the charge of deliberate literary forgery; and his fables are too palpable to endanger the interests of legitimate history. His conduct in regard to the discharge of his episcopal duties is more immediately the object of our present inquiry; and we regret that annals, more veracious than those of his own inditing, afford little to justify commendation. The distracted state of the country at this time held out no inducements for his visits as a man attached to literary ease; and we find that his sense of religious duty was not sufficiently strong to propel him to a residence in his recluse and rugged diocese, in opposition to the dictates of a polished taste. Geoffrey was also abbot of Abingdon, which he held in commendam with this bishopric. But he appears to have entirely neglected his diocese, and even to have forsaken his abbey, for the luxuries of London and the elegance of the court. A formal complaint, as we are informed by

Roger Hoveden, was preferred against him, for this neglect of ecclesiastical duties, in a general council held at London, A. D. 1175. The effect of such an allegation might, in that age, have been dubious, if he had not also sinned in politics; but he opposed the king's party in the momentous affair of Thomas à Becket, and was deprived both of his bishopric and abbacy.

Although the succession of bishops, from the resignation of Geoffrey to the present time, is ascertained with tolerable precision, few names, for more than a century after that event, can now be held forward as subjects either of reverence or curiosity. Reyner, who was consecrated to this see in the year 1188, accompanied archbishop Baldwin through his diocese, on the memorable tour of that primate, for the ostensible purpose of soliciting assistance for the crusades. It would appear that our prelate was at this time destitute of the requisite means of accommodating distinguished visitors, as the archbishop was entertained at the neighbouring castle of Ruthlan⁸. The forlorn state of St. Asaph, in the early part of the 13th century, is lamentably evinced in the person of bishop Howel, who was consecrated in 1240. "The Welsh bishops," says Prynn, "having sided with their countrymen against king Henry III., had their bishoprics and churches so spoiled and destroyed that they were forced to beg their bread, and live upon the alms of others⁹." That the hard fortune of our bishop, in particular, compelled him to subsist on the bounty of his friends, is expressly stated by Matthew Paris. He at length sought a refuge in Osney Abbey, Oxford; and in the consoling arms of that religious society his life and sorrows found a speedy termination. Anian, the second of that name, promoted A. D. 1268, was confessor to king Edward I., whom he attended in his romantic expedition to the Holy Land. This prelate possessed a vigorous mind, and proved a zealous friend to the interests of his diocese, enforcing its temporal rights on a principle of equity rather than through a reprehensible thirst of aggrandizement. It is obvious that this persevering attention to the care of those possessions which had been bestowed on the church by the piety of past ages, was more peculiarly incumbent on the guardian of a see exposed to so many afflicting casualties. A truth which

⁸ The words of Giraldus, respecting this visit, are thus translated by Sir R. Hoare. "Having crossed the river Conwy, or rather an arm of the sea under Deganwy, leaving the Cistercian monastery of Oonwy on the western bank of the river to our right hand, we arrived at Ruthlan, a noble castle on the river Cloyd, belonging to David, the eldest son of Owen, where, at the earnest instances of David himself, we were handsomely entertained that night. Many persons in the morning having been persuaded to dedicate themselves to the service of Christ, we proceeded from Ruthlan to the small cathedral church of Lanelwy (St. Asaph), from whence (the archbishop having celebrated mass) we continued our journey." Hoare's Translation of Giraldus, vol. i. p. 124-5.

⁹ Coll. v. li. p. 726-7.

Anian himself lived to experience in its fullest extent; for, in the year 1282, and towards the close of the final struggle between Llewelyn, the last reigning prince of Wales, and the English, the cathedral of St. Asaph, and its contiguous buildings for the use of the religious, were burned to the ground. Under the first impulse of indignation at the deep injury thus levelled, even at religion itself, through the destruction of one of its most hallowed temples, by those who professed the christian faith, he would have immediately sent forth his ecclesiastical censures against the ruffian despoilers, had he not been restrained by the excellent archbishop Peckham, who had already ineffectually endeavoured to become a pacificator between the contending powers. The spirit of his remonstrances, notwithstanding the formal censure of the church was withheld, was so highly resented by the victorious Edward, that he was suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions. The temporalities Edward seized into his own hands, and the management of the diocese was committed to the bishop of Wells. Archbishop Peckham who, in his whole connexion with the principality, appears to have been intent on the performance of good works, undertook, in the year 1284, the necessary duty of visiting his province; and obtained the king's permission for Anian to attend him, in person, through the diocese of St. Asaph. Readily perceiving in the course of this visitation the necessity that existed for a resident bishop ("*Populum in his partibus perire ex defectu regiminis et doctrinæ sentiens*"), he interceded with the king for Anian's restoration, and finally succeeded in his friendly efforts.

It had been proved, by fatal and reiterated experience, that the recluse, defenceless situation of our cathedral church was ill-suited to the vicissitudes of those evil times in which even the altar was exposed to continual dangers, unless guarded by the sword. Anian, therefore, proposed to translate his episcopal see to the neighbouring town of Ruthlan"; beneath the shelter of whose mighty castle the

10 RUTHLAN is situated near the banks of the river Clwyd, and is nominally a borough town, but it is in reality reduced to the character of a small village. Few places in the vicinity of St. Asaph possess so high a degree of historical interest. Here was fought the signal battle between the Saxons and the Welsh, in the year 795, which proved fatal to Caradoc, king of North Wales. The castle of Ruthlan was a favourite residence of the Welsh princes from a very early period. The following passage relating to this fortress is copied by Mr. Pennant from the *Life of Gruffydh ap Conan*, in the *Sebright MS.* "*Gruffydh ap Llewelyn*, in 1063, having given offence to Edward the confessor, by receiving Algar, one of his rebellious subjects, was attacked by Harold, who, in revenge, burned the palace at Rhuddlan. It was soon restored, and as soon lost. Robert de Rhuddlan, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus, conquered it from the Welsh; and, by the command of William the conqueror, fortified it with new works, and made it his place of residence. Robert received here a visit from prince Gruffydh ap Kynan, who came to solicit aid against his enemies from the Norman warrior, which he obtained; but, on some general quarrel, attacked him in his castle, took and burnt the bailey, or yard, and killed such a number of his men, that very few escaped into the tower." King Henry II. added to the fortifications of this castle; but it yielded, in the year 1167, to the de-

ministers of Christ might securely preach to the world the doctrines of peace. His wish was supported by king Edward, who not only promised to grant a plot of ground for the site of the intended structure, but to bestow 1000 marks towards the charge of its erection. Letters were accordingly dispatched to the pope, requesting his assent to the translation of the see. One of these humiliating epistles was written by the king himself, and is inserted in Willis's Appendix to the History of St. Asaph. After stating that he had lately built a town at "Rodelan," within the diocese of St. Asaph, in a spacious and safe situation, to which great numbers of the Welsh and English inhabitants of the diocese resorted; he observes, "that the cathedral church of St. Asaph, distant from thence about two English leagues, was placed in a solitary and champaign spot; that its canons were neither protected by fortresses nor comforted by the society of any neighbouring people; exposed, together with the body of their saint, to the continual incursions of robbers and pirates; and the place subjected to so many inconveniences, that even on the most solemn feast-days the dignitaries of the church had no audience, and spake to the very stones." It appears that the death of pope Martin IV. prevented a speedy reply being returned from Rome; and, as the archbishop of Canterbury issued a circular letter, exhorting the bishop and canons to rebuild their church, the structure was restored, without further delay, on its ancient site.

Little that is important is recorded concerning our cathedral, or its prelates, for many succeeding years. Wales, although reluctantly submitting to the rod of conquest, enjoyed through these years comparative serenity; and from the attention which several of the bishops who then presided evidently paid to the temporal interests of their see,

terminated assaults of Owen Gwyneth, prince of North Wales, and Rees, prince of South Wales. In the reign of king John it was also wrested from the English by a small but furious army of the Welsh. King Edward I. improved the fortifications with unwearied labour, and consummate skill in military architecture. It was here that he held his triumphant court after the death of the unfortunate Llewelyn, and the consequent subjection of all Wales; and, during this festival of victory, he here received, from the hands of the natives, David, the brother of the last Welsh prince. He threw the captive awhile into the dungeon of his castle, and then consigned him to the hand of the executioner at Shrewsbury. In the year 1283 was held at this place, by the same king, a parliament for the important purposes of dividing his new conquests into appropriate civil districts, and revising and new-modelling the laws of the subjugated country. A considerable part of this august pile is still remaining. The inner area approaches to the octangular shape, and is flanked, as were many of the castles re-edified by Edward I. with round towers. Three sides were fortified by deep fosses and walls; the fourth slopes down towards the river, and was defended by a lofty wall and square turrets. Camden says, "At Rhudlan, (though it be now a mean village) we find the manifest signs of a considerable town, as of the abbey and hospitals; and of a gate, at least half a mile from the village; one of the towers in the castle is called *Twr y Brenin*, or the King's Tower; and below the hill, upon the bank of the river, we find another apart from the castle, called *Twr Sllod*." Bishop Tanner informs us, that there was here a house of black friars, before the year 1268; of which Anian, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, was prior. Across the river Clwyd, which is here navigable for small vessels, is a bridge of two arches, that appears to have been built, or repaired, in the time of bishop Hughes, as it bears the arms of the see of St. Asaph, and the date of 1596.

and the good order of their church, we are justified in encouraging a persuasion that the turbulent spirit, instilled by lengthened warfare, was gradually ameliorated by that regular exercise of christian service which had been so often interrupted in previous ages. Society, however, was yet in an unsettled state in this rugged district, where the progress of tame and scanty annals had never been disturbed by any striking event, consequently we are not authorized in expecting it would assume a character either pleasing or benevolent. When the famous insurgent, Owen Glendwr, repaired to arms in opposition to king Henry IV., he misconstrued the sentiments of John Trevaure, then bishop of St. Asaph, who was in reality not more loyal than himself, and placed the firebrand to all inflammable parts of this cathedral, as well as to much neighbouring property appertaining to the see. The roof, which was of wood, and the whole ornamental particulars of the interior, thus fell victims to the fury of a savage chieftain, who appeared to take pride in the opportunity of shewing, at the altar of his faith, the tremendous character of his political vengeance. The episcopal palace, and every attached building designed for the use of those who served the duties of the church, were involved, as may be expected, in this scene of devastation. It is a curious fact that this violence was misplaced, if it were levelled at the bishop; for he was shortly after ejected from his see on account of his coincidence in opinions with the destroyer of his own cathedral and palatial residence.

Notwithstanding some encouragement afforded by king Henry IV. it does not appear that any active steps were taken towards restoring the cathedral from the effects of Owen Glendwr's conflagration, until the time of bishop Redman, who was consecrated A. D. 1472. Under the auspices of this prelate the walls were repaired, the building newly roofed, and the interior duly fitted up for the decent, if not dignified, performance of divine service. David ap Owen, promoted to this bishopric in the year 1503, conferred a further benefit upon the see by re-building the episcopal palace, which had lain in ruins since the desolating visit of Glendwr; the bishops, meanwhile, living remote from their diocese, in some commendam bestowed for their better support in so disastrous a season. Henry Standish, consecrated in 1518, was a man of learning and activity; both of which, however, were chiefly displayed in the share which he took in the public transactions of his era. Little is known respecting his attentions towards

11 The name of bishop David Owen was to be seen over a door at St. Asaph palace before the late re-edification of the structure. He also built a bridge of timber over the river Clwyd, about a quarter of a mile north-east of St. Asaph, known at this day by the name of Pont Darydd Escob, or Bishop David's Bridge. This fabric becoming ruinous was, in the year 1630, rebuilt at the expense of the county.

his see, except that he bequeathed 40*l.* for the purpose of paving the choir of the cathedral; with which sum, in neglect of his testamentary wish, it is traditionally said, that an organ was purchased. The name of Robert Wharton, or Parfew, who was consecrated in 1536, is mentioned with opprobrium by several early writers on ecclesiastical history, and particularly by Godwin, who accuses him of an indulgence in habits so expensive, "that he was fain to let out, on long leases, all the lands belonging to the bishopric, to the great detriment of the same." It is, however, proved by Willis, in his survey of this diocese, that the temporalities answered exactly to the same value, in an account taken after his death, as before he became possessed of them. It is displeasing to find that Godwin (on whose testimony many persons rely, concerning the character of bishops previous to the reformation,) should thus hurl the biographical anathema of his censure on the ground of a loose and casual report, which might have been readily contradicted by dispassionate inquiry directed to a proper channel. William Hughes, consecrated A. D. 1573, was undoubtedly a friend to the interests of his see, although, in regard to the methods by which he improved it, he can scarcely be cleared from the imputation of covetousness. Having gained possession of the archdeaconry of St. Asaph he procured a faculty from the archbishop of Canterbury, allowing him to hold that and other benefices to the value of £150 per annum, in commendam with his bishopric. Sixteen livings were appended by him to the see, under the sanction of the above faculty". He was succeeded by William Morgan, memorable as the first translator of the Bible into the Welsh language, in which task he was assisted by Richard Parry, who was likewise elected to this see on the decease of bishop Morgan. John Owens, consecrated in 1629, was preferred to this diocese by king Charles I., to whom he had been chaplain while prince of Wales, "on supposition," says the quaint Fuller, "that he was a Welshman, which, indeed, he distinguished himself to be in all respects (except that the place of his nativity was English!) by his incomparable skill in the Welsh language, and zeal in promoting the good of his bishopric." His benefactions to the cathedral, although not im-

19 Whilst noticing the bishops who sat during the reign of Elizabeth, it may not be undesirable to mention the following curious list of "customary mortuaries due to the bishops of St. Asaph, on the decease of every clergyman beneficed in St. Asaph's diocese: from an account exhibited in queen Elizabeth's time."—*Imprimis*, His best gelding, horse, or mare.—Item, His best gown.—Item, His best cloak.—Item, His best coat, jerkin, doublet, and breeches.—Item, His hose, or neither-stockings, shoes, and garters.—Item, His wastcoat.—Item, His hat and capp.—Item, His faulchion.—Item, His best book.—Item, His surplice.—Item, His purse and girdell.—Item, His knife and gloves.—Item, His signet, or ring of gold.—It appears that these mortuaries were occasionally taken in kind (with an allowance of the deficiencies produced by changes in the fashion of attire), so late as the prelacy of bishop Fleetwood; during which (A. D. 1714), the custom was set aside by act of parliament.

portant, were useful; he erected a new pulpit, and rebuilt, or greatly beautified, his episcopal throne; he likewise caused convenient seats to be fixed for the use of the congregation, and bestowed on the cathedral a new organ. These meritorious works, and the bishop's zealous attention to the religious welfare of those committed to his care, were interrupted by the unhappy civil war of the 17th century. His grateful attachment to the ruined king rendered him an object of peculiar dislike to the prevailing party; and he was, consequently, exposed to severe penalties and mortifications¹⁵. Sustained by the tenour of those doctrines which it had been the labour of his life to inculcate, as the best solace of suffering humanity, he retired to a small village near St. Asaph, and dying there in 1651, was buried, without any inscription or monument, under the episcopal throne of his own cathedral.

In this calamitous civil war our cathedral was perverted to the most sordid uses. A man named Mills, who was the post-master of St. Asaph, occupied the bishop's residence as a place of sale for wines and other liquors, and kept horses and oxen in the body of the church. The same person tied his calves to the bishop's throne, and different parts of the choir; and, with a studied plenitude of profane insult, removed the font into his yard, where he set it in the ground, and used it as a trough for the feeding of hogs. The injuries sustained by the see at this time were very considerable. In 1648, and the two following years, various manors and lordships, forming parts of its property, were sold to the amount of more than £5000. After a vacancy of nine years, amidst these scenes of anarchy and confusion, the episcopal functions were restored in the person of doctor George Griffith, who had the courage to write in support of the church of England in the days of its greatest trouble. From this date commences a succession of prelates venerable for a conscientious discharge of their high duties; and in several instances affording distinguished ornaments to the annals of useful talent and sound erudition. Isaac Barrow, consecrated in 1669 (uncle of the eminent doctor Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the tutor of sir Isaac Newton), long served with apostolic zeal the cause of christianity, as bishop of the Isle of Man. Translated to the more genial see of St. Asaph, he displayed the same religious ardour, with an increase of benevolent exertion commensurate to his enlargement of opportunities. As he was unmarried, and without dependent relatives, he expended his revenue in acts of munificence and charity. By him considerable repairs were effected in the cathedral, parti-

¹⁵ See Walker's History of the Suffering Clergy, and Lloyd's Memoirs.

cularly in the north and south aisles, and the east parts of the choir. Effectually to provide for the preservation of the structure, he procured an act of parliament for uniting several sinecures, and appropriating the proceeds chiefly to the repairs of the cathedral. He also bestowed a large sum on the improvement of the palace; erected an almshouse at St. Asaph for eight poor widows, and bequeathed £200 towards the foundation of a free-school which he intended to have built. His successor, William Lloyd, afterwards translated to Lichfield and Coventry, and thence to Worcester, is memorable as being one of the six bishops who, together with archbishop Sancroft, were committed to the Tower by the arbitrary mandate of James II. William Beveridge (1704) received the invaluable denomination of "the reviver and restorer of primitive piety." This excellent churchman appears to have risen to episcopal dignity without any other aid than the approbation excited by an exemplary discharge of his clerical duties. His numerous works will extend the sphere of his utility to ages yet distant. In his "Private Thoughts upon Religion," and "Private Thoughts upon a Christian Life," he has bequeathed a vivid and useful portrait of his own devout mind¹⁴.

Whilst examining the various public and private merits of our most distinguished prelates since the restoration, it is requisite to notice the attention which they have, almost invariably, paid to the preservation and improvement of the cathedral buildings; an exercise of duty the more praiseworthy, on account of the utter neglect which the edifice experienced under many early bishops. Dr. Fleetwood, the successor of bishop Beveridge, paved a great part of the church at his own expense, and laid out above £100 in adorning the choir. During the episcopacy of John Wynne, D. D. the cathedral underwent considerable injury from a violent storm which occurred on the 2d of February 1714. The "top of the steeple" was then blown down, and falling into the choir did much damage to the roof and the interior. Six hundred pounds were expended in the repairs; which were conducted with so much liberality, that the building is said to have improved by apparent calamity. In the time of bishop Shipley, who had acted as chaplain-general to the army under the command of William duke of Cumberland, in the years 1744 and 1745, a great part of the choir of the cathedral was rebuilt. The literary works of this prelate, including three excellent sermons, have been published since his decease by his son, the dean of St. Asaph. Dr. Samuel Halifax, translated hither from the see of Gloucester

¹⁴ It may afford some local interest to observe, that bishop Beveridge is believed to have resided much at Colfryn, in Llan-saintfraild yn Mechain parish, county of Montgomery, and to have composed at that place many of his latter works.

on the death of bishop Shipley in 1787, evinced himself a sound civilian in the performance of his office as Regius Professor of Civil Law, at Cambridge. His "Sermons at Bishop Warburton's Lecture," also prove the success with which he had cultivated the sublime studies connected with his sacred duties. It is observable that his lordship was the first English bishop that was translated to St. Asaph, and the second that was translated to any bishopric in North Wales. In more recent times this see has been adorned by Dr. Samuel Horsley, whose depth of erudition and brilliancy of talents are admitted by all. His last publication was a sermon preached in this cathedral. The improvements effected by the late worthy bishop Bagot, in the buildings appertaining to his see, will be noticed in the ensuing page.

The cathedral of St. Asaph has no pretensions to that architectural magnificence which is displayed in most structures of a similar description in England, and which once shone forth, with an innoxious pride of rivalry, in two of the cathedral churches in Wales. While mingled reverence and vanity were accumulating the gorgeous embellishments of the arts in other fabrics, our lonely and remote cathedral was subject to the horrors of unremitting warfare; often destitute of a protecting diocesan, and, when destroyed, dependant on casual bounty for restoration. Whilst we remember that such was its situation in ages most favourable to splendour of church architecture, we shall scarcely be induced to expect in the existing pile even mutilated vestiges of elaborate decoration. Still this cathedral, renovated by the scrupulous care and decent piety of recent ages, is handsome and substantial, although plain and of limited dimensions. Seated on the highest point of that pleasant eminence on which the city of St. Asaph is built, and partially screened, at many points of view, by fine masses of wood, the impression conveyed by its exterior is that of respectability, partaking of the august if not of the grand. The interior is principally divided into a choir, nave, two aisles, and north and south transepts; a square tower of low proportions rising in the centre. Its architectural history lies within a small compass, and has been already partly detailed in our previous review of the general annals of this diocese. It is sufficiently evident that no part of the present edifice is more ancient than the reign of Edward I. at which time we may believe that it was entirely rebuilt, in consequence of injuries sustained during the prelacy of Anian. The havoc effected by Owen Glendwr, in the year 1402, appears to have been of the most decisive kind. No important traces of the architecture of the 13th century are now to be discovered in any part of the fabric. The walls alone remained when

bishop Redman, between the years 1469 and 1495, restored the edifice after it had lain in ruins for so long a period ; and various parts of the structure display the architectural fashion of that era. Since the date of the above re-edification, and chiefly in the time of bishop Shipley, about the year 1780, the choir has been nearly rebuilt in a style happily imitative of the English, or Gothic, and not at objectionable variance with other divisions of the edifice. The interior of the choir is now highly ornamental to the cathedral, and is furnished in a handsome and appropriate manner. A new throne and pulpit were erected at the time of the above improvements. One of the principal embellishments of the interior consists in the great east window, the tracery-work of which is copied from the venerable remains of Tintern Abbey. This high and broad window is now filled with painted glass, executed by the late ingenious artist Mr. Egginton, of Handsworth near Birmingham. The three central compartments contain representations of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension. In other divisions are emblazoned the arms of bishop Bagot, and many of the nobility and gentry of his diocese through whose liberality the expense of this window was defrayed. The nave is at present under the progress of repair ; and preparations are made for further improvements, with the aid of the well managed fund instituted by bishop Barrow.

This cathedral affords little that is interesting in monumental antiquities. Removed from its original situation, and now placed in an upright position against the south-west pier of the tower, is the figure of a bishop in his episcopal habit ; this is traditionally said to be the effigy of bishop David Owen ; but the justice of such an application is not sanctioned by any inscription, or other indubitable intelligence. In the church-yard, near the west door, is the altar-monument of the excellent bishop Barrow, with an inscription drawn up by himself. Divine service is performed here on Sundays only ; and it is observable that this cathedral is not used for a parish-church, as are the other cathedrals in Wales. The episcopal palace stands about 150 yards to the south-west of the cathedral, and is a substantial and commodious residence, entirely rebuilt by bishop Bagot, after his promotion to this see in the year 1790. The gardens are adorned by the flow of the river Elwy, and are laid out with great judgment and good taste.

The chapter consists of a dean, an archdeacon (the archdeaconry being held in commendam by the bishop), six prebendaries, and seven canons ; besides which dignitaries there belong to the church four vicars choral, four singing men, four choristers, and an organist. This diocese comprises the whole of Flintshire, except Hawarden, Bangor,

Worthenbury, and Hanmer; all Denbighshire, exclusive of the deanry of Dyffrynclwyd, and the chapelries of Holt, Iscoed, and Penley; nearly one half of the county of Merioneth; three parishes in Caernarvonshire; thirty-seven parishes in Montgomeryshire; and eight churches and three chapels in the county of Salop. The whole extent is said to contain 130 parishes; but in calculating upon that number fourteen parochial chapels are taken into the account.

The small city of St. Asaph presents but little to interest the examiner who associates the idea of grandeur in domestic buildings with civic pretensions. It is, however, much enlarged and improved since the early part of the 18th century, at which time it is described by Browne Willis as consisting of "about fifty-two scattering houses." The number of inhabited houses was 309 in the year 1811. Seated on the slope of a considerable elevation, it commands fine views over the vale of Clwyd, and other attractive districts. The river Clwyd, which rises near the northern termination of the Berwyn chain of mountains, flows by Ruthin, and east of Denbigh, to this city; "from whence, with the united streams of the Elwy, it continues its course to Ruthlan, where it becomes a tide-river, giving a name to the rich and fertile vale of Clwyd." The extensive bridge, by which the Elwy is crossed on an approach to St. Asaph, is an agreeable adjunct of the picturesque, and bestows an imposing effect on the first view of the city.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

LENGTH from east to west 170 feet; do. from the east door to the choir 119 feet; do. of the choir 60 feet; do. of the cross aisles from north to south 108 feet.—BREADTH of the body and side aisles 68 feet; do. of the choir 32 feet.—HEIGHT of the body, viz. from the area of the pavement to the top of the roof, within, 60 feet; do. of the tower which stands in the middle 95 feet.—SQUARE of the tower 30 feet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

- Plate 1.* Exhibits the Interior of the Nave, which part of the structure is at present under a course of repair. The great West Window is now unglazed, as are also the windows on the South side of the Nave. Part of the Font appears, within the arch at the extremity of the view, on the left.
- Plate 2.* Shews the North Transept; the Tower; part of the Choir; and the West end.
- Plate 3.* The West Front of the Cathedral, shewing the great door and window, with the ends of the Aisles of the Nave. On the left are seen some domestic buildings, forming part of the city of St. Asaph.
- Plate 4.* A distant View of the Cathedral, from the bank of the river Elwy. On the left is seen the parish Church of St. Asaph, which is situated about 150 yards to the west of the cathedral. This is a small plain building, consisting chiefly of two parallel aisles, and does not contain any objects of particular curiosity in the esteem of the antiquary.
- Plate 5.* Presents the Interior of the Choir, with the great eastern window, filled with painted glass. On the right is the Bishop's Throne; on the left the Pulpit and Stalls.
- Plate 6.* The Episcopal Palace, which has been already noticed as an elegant modern building, erected in the time of bishop Bagot. The principal front stands to the east.
- Plate 7.* An East View of the Cathedral, shewing the whole of the Choir, together with the South Transept and the Tower. The Sea appears in the distance, on the right.
- Plate 8.* The South Transept; part of the Nave; and the Tower. In the distance is the wall of the Palace-gardens.

ST. ASAPH.

BISHOPS.

Kentigern	550	Robert Lancaster	1411	George Griffith	1660
Asaph	560	John Lowe	1433	Henry Glemham	1667
Gilbert (1)	1143	Reginald Peacock	1444	Isaac Barrow	1669
Geoff. of Monmouth	1152	Thomas	1450	William Lloyd	1686
Adam	1175	Richard Redman	1471	Edward Jones	1692
John	1183	Michael Diacon	1495	George Hooper	1703
Reyner	1188	David	1500	William Beveridge	1704
Abraham	1225	David ap Owen	1503	W. Fleetwood (3)	1708
Hugh	1235	Edmund Birkhead	1513	John Wynne	1714
Howel ap Ednevet	1240	Henry Standish	1518	Francis Hare	1723
<i>See Vacant Two Years.</i>		William Barlow	1535	Thomas Tanner	1731
Anian I.	1249	Robert Wharton,		Isaac Maddox	1736
John II.	1267	(alias Parfew)	1536	John Thomas	1742
Anian II.	1268	Thomas Goldwell	1553	The Hon. Robert Hay	
Leoline de Bromfield	1293	Thomas Wood	1558	Drummond	1748
David ap Blethin	1314	Richard Davies	1561	Richard Newcome	1761
John Trevaur	1350	Thomas Davies	1561	Jonathan Shipley	1769
Leoline ap Madoc	1357	William Hughes(2)	1573	Samuel Halifax	1787
W. de Sprydelington	1376	<i>See Vacant Nine Months.</i>		Lewis Bagot	1790
Laurence Child	1382	William Morgan	1601	Samuel Horsley	1802
Alexander Bache	1389	Richard Parry	1604	William Cleaver	1806
John Trevaur II.	1395	John Hanmer	1694	JOHN LUXMORE	1807
<i>See Vacant.</i>		John Owens	1629		

DEANS.

David		John Tapton	1463	David Lloyd	1660
Anian		Tulke Salisbury		Humphrey Lloyd	1668
Leoline ap Madoc		Richard Puskin	1543	Nicholas Stratford	1673
Robert de Walslum		John Griffiths	1556	George Bright	1689
W. de Sprydelington	1357	Maurice Blayne	1458	Daniel Price	1696
Alan de Stokes	1376	John Lloyd	1559	William Stanley	1706
Howel ap Madoc	1380	Hugh Evans	1560	William Powell	1731
Howel ap Kyffin	1381	Thomas Banks	1587	William Herring	1751
Richard Courteney	1402	Andrew Morris	1624	W. DAVIES SHIPLEY	1774
Hugh Holbeche		<i>Deanery Vacant 6 Years.</i>			

(1) We have already remarked that it has been hitherto found impracticable to name, with accuracy, the succession of prelates previous to the Norman Conquest. It may be repeated in this place, in explanation of a circumstance so displeasing to the antiquary, that in the Anglo-Saxon ages the clergy of Wales were accustomed to choose their own bishops, and it is believed that no register was kept of the persons elected. The same observation applies also to the diocese of Bangor, where a similar paucity of information has been found unavoidable.

(2) It has been observed, in the text, that bishop Hughes procured a faculty, enabling him to hold sixteen livings in commendam. The names of these benefices, and the dates at which they were obtained, may be thus enumerated: Llysfaen, procured in 1573; Castel Caer Enion in 1574; Cwm in 1574; Gresford in 1577; Llandrinko in 1577; Bettws yn Rhos in 1577; Meifod in 1578; Llandrillo in Edeyrnion in 1582; Llany Cil in 1589; Abergelle in 1582; Llandrillo yn Ros in 1585; Langwm in 1585; Whitford in 1587; Mallwyd in 1587; Llanfawr in 1588; and Llanrwst in 1592.

(3) It is well known that bishop Fleetwood rendered himself undesirably conspicuous, in the latter part of queen Anne's reign, by the active part which he took in politics, and the discontent with which he viewed the measures adopted by the queen's favourite ministry. In May, 1712, he published a volume of Sermons, with a preface so memorably displeasing to persons in power, that an order was made for the volume to be burned, with the accustomed marks of public disgrace. It may not be altogether destitute of interest to state the nature of the offence committed by our prelate upon this occasion. After having, in his preface, asserted that christianity "left us where it found us as to our civil rights," and described many presumed advantages enjoyed by this country under the former ministry, he laments "that the spirit of discord was gone forth, and had spoiled for a time that pleasing prospect, and given us in its stead he knew not what. Our enemies," adds the bishop, "will tell the rest with pleasure!" The last sentence gave the offence, and caused the whole volume of sermons to be condemned to public obloquy.

INDEX TO ST. ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL.

* * * The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side ; thus (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.

Anian, promoted to this see in 1068, g; confessor to king Edward I. whom he attended to the Holy Land, ib.; proved a zealous friend to the interests of his diocese, g; suspended for some time from the exercise of his episcopal functions, ib.; proposed to translate his see to the neighbouring town of Ruthlan, ib.; his wish supported by Edward, who promised a plot of ground for the site of the structure, i.—Asaph, St. first appointed to this diocese, d; distinguished for his virtue, learning, piety, and miracles, ib.; his reputation for pretended miracles increased in succeeding ages, ib.; possessed many dignified qualities, ib.; his favourite aphorism translated, ib.; his doctrines more acceptable on account of his being a native of North Wales, e.—Asaph, St. City, much enlarged and improved since the early part of the 18th century, g; number of inhabited houses in 1811, ib.

Baldwin, archbishop, description of his visit to this diocese by Giraldus, g.—Barrow, Isaac, consecrated in 1669, m; considerable repairs made by him in various parts of the Cathedral, m, a; bestowed a large sum on the improvement of the palace, a; erected an almshouse for 8 poor widows, ib.; and bequeathed 200*l.* towards the foundation of a free school, ib.—Beveridge, William, a; supposed to have resided much at Colfryn, and composed many of his works there, a N.—Black Friars, a house of at Ruthlan before the year 1068, i N.—Bridge across the river Clwyd, ib.—British tribes, names and territories of, a N.

Cathedral, burned to the ground in 1382, k; restored shortly afterwards on its ancient site, i; again destroyed by fire in the time of Henry the Fourth, k; partly rebuilt in the 15th century, ib.; received many injuries in the time of the civil wars, m; many improvements made by distinguished prelates since the Restoration, a; no architectural magnificence displayed in this cathedral, o; its ground plan, ib.; no part more ancient than the time of Edward I. ib.; a new throne and pulpit erected, p.—Chebur, said by Wynne to have been consecrated to this see in the 10th century, e.—Christianity, the period of its introduction to Cambria doubtful, a.—Clwyd, river, g.

Diocese, whole extent said to contain 130 parishes, g; its limits, p, g.

Episcopal palace rebuilt by bishop Bagot, p; its situation, ib.

Fair anciently held at St. Asaph, e.—Fleetwood, Dr. successor of bishop Beveridge, a; paved great part of the church, ib.

Gardens attached to the episcopal palace, p.—Geoffrey of Monmouth, promoted to this see in the year 1152, f; his conduct in regard to the discharge of his episcopal duties, ib.; deprived both of his bishopric and abbacy, g; Germain, St. the interests of Christianity in Cambria greatly advanced in the 5th century by him, b.—Gilbert, consecrated to this see by the archbishop of Canterbury, f.—Glendwr, Owen, the cathedral and adjacent buildings reduced to a state of ruin by him, k.—Godwin, proofs

of a want of candour in that writer, i.—Griffith, doctor George, wrote in support of the church of England, m.

Halifax, Dr. Samuel, the first English bishop that was translated to this see, o.—Hersley, Dr. Samuel, o; his last publication was a sermon preached in this cathedral, ib.—Howel, bishop, sought a refuge in Osney Abbey, Oxford, and there died, g.—Hughes, William, a friend to the interests of his see, i.

Kentigern, (called in Scottish histories St. Mungo) c; founded a monastery near the river Elwy, ib. the cathedral erected by him, said to be one of the first churches built of stone, c, d; recalled to Scotland, d; ancient authorities for his biography, ib. N.

Lanelwy Church, so called from its situation near the river Elwy, d.—Lloyd, William, one of the six bishops committed to the Tower by James II. a.—Lucius, king, supposed to have become a convert to Christianity about the year 164, a; his existence doubtful, b.

Monastery, Kentigern's, attended with prosperity, c.—Monument, effigies on, traditionally termed that of bishop David Owen, p; that of bishop Barrow near the west door of this cathedral, ib.—Morgan, William, first translator of the bible into the Welsh language, i.—Mortuaries due to the bishops on the decease of every clergyman beneficed in this diocese, i N.

Nave of the cathedral under repair, p.

Ordovices, ancient inhabitants of North Wales, a.—Owen, David, promoted to this see 1503, k.—Owens, John, consecrated in 1629, i; his benefactions to the cathedral useful, ib. erected a new pulpit, and gave to the cathedral a new organ, m; exposed to many severe penalties during the civil wars, ib.

Palace, the episcopal described, p.—Parfew, see Wharton.—Peckham, archbishop, intercedes with Edward I. for Anian's restoration, a.

Redman, bishop, k; the cathedral repaired by him from the effects of Owen Glendwr's conflagration, ib.—Beyner, bishop, accompanied Baldwin through his diocese to solicit assistance for the crusades, g.—Romans, their conquests in Britain partitioned into dioceses, b.—Ruthlan situated near the banks of the river Clwyd, a N.; fortifications of the castle improved by Edward I. i N.; that king held his court here after the death of Llewelyn, ib.; a considerable part of the castle still remaining, ib.

Shipley, bishop, great part of the choir rebuilt in his time, a; his works published since his decease, ib.—St. David, received Kentigern and protected him at Menevia, c.—Standish, bishop, bequeathed 40*l.* to pave the choir of the cathedral, i.

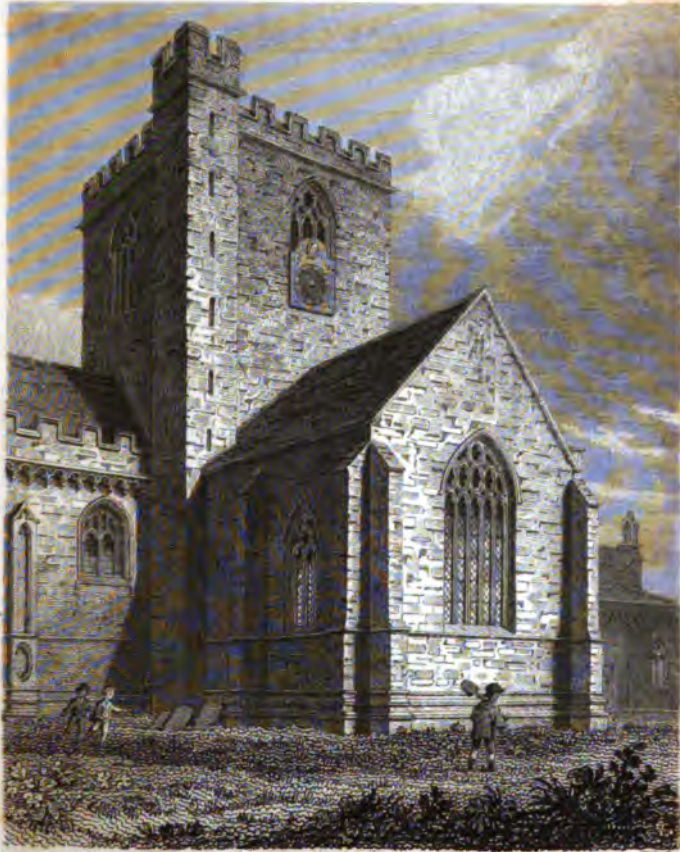
Wharton, Robert, consecrated in 1536, i; mentioned with opprobrium by Godwin, ib.; the assertions of Godwin contradicted by Willis, ib.

Window, great east, tracery work copied from the remains of Tintern Abbey, p; now filled with painted glass, ib.



Name of St. Asaph's Cathedral.

Engraved by J. H. P. from a drawing by J. H. P.



Drawn & Engr'd by J. Rogers.

Pl. 4.

North Transept of St. Asaph's Cathedral.

Published for the Author by Sturges, Hoare & Co., Stationers, No. 1, St. Paul's Church-Yard.



James J. King del. & sculp.

West End of St. Asaph's Cathedral.

Printed by J. J. King, at the Press of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth.



Drawn & Engraved by J. H. Stowe

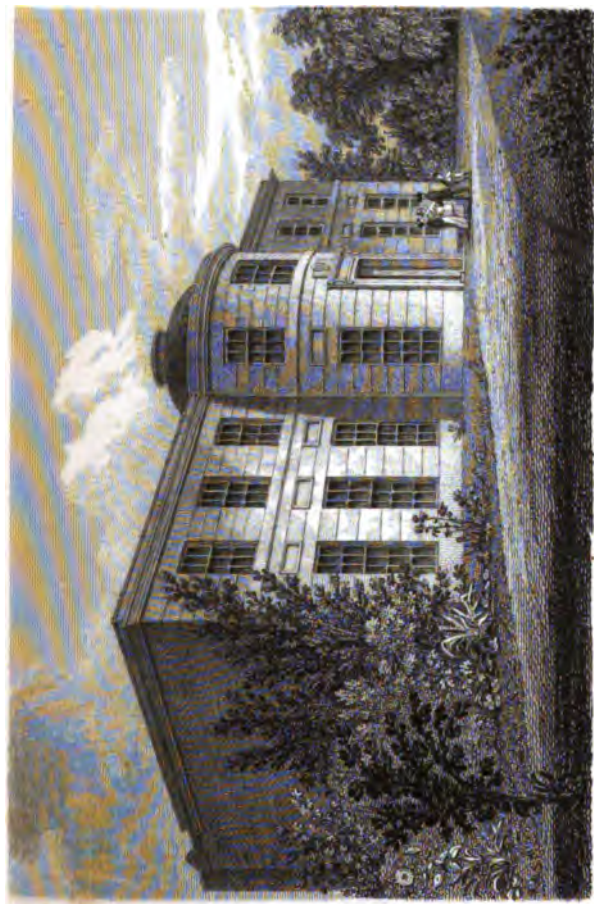
View of St. Stephen's Cathedral

Published by the Author, 1844, No. 1, Strand, London, W.C.



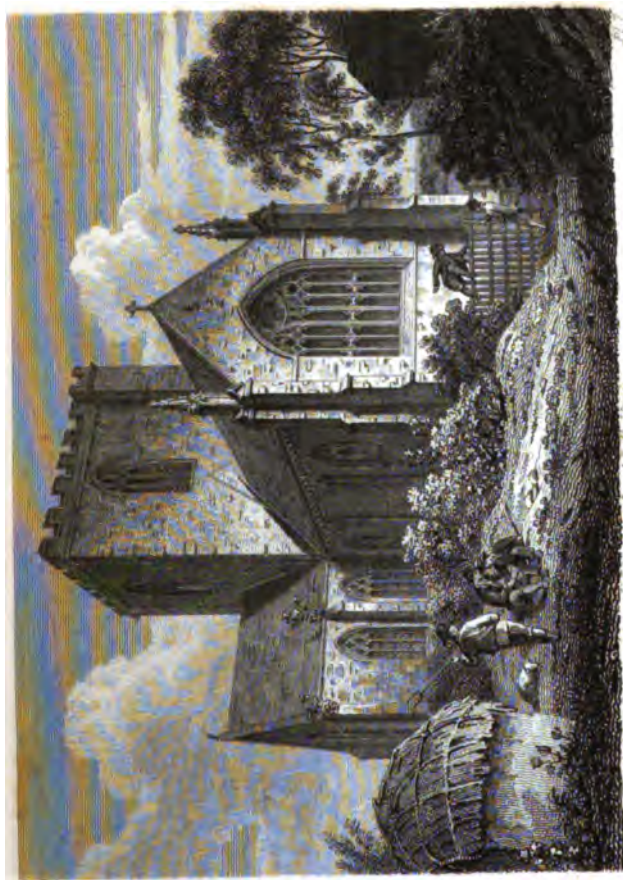
Choir of St. Asaph's Cathedral.
To the Right Rev. & Hon. Guemorell D.D. & B.C.L.
Lord Bp. of St. Asaph, this plate is respectfully
inscribed by his Lordships Chapl. Wm. St. A. Jones.

Published Jan. 1. 1844 by Sherwood, Neely & Sons, Stationers, &c. No. 1.



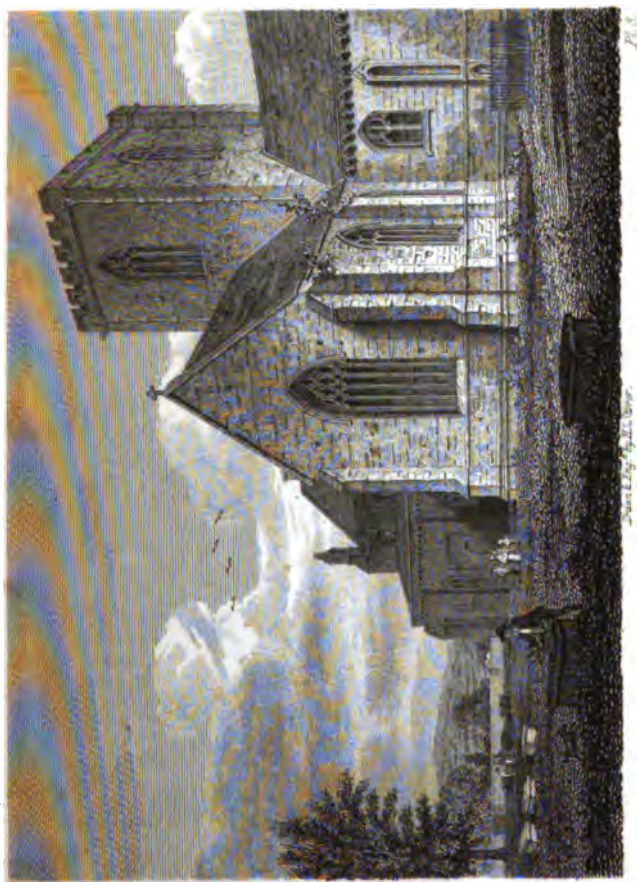
U.S. Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

Painted by J. M. W. Turner, 1825.



St. George's Church, Richmond, Surrey.

Engraved by J. G. Thompson.



St. Peter's Westgate Cathedral

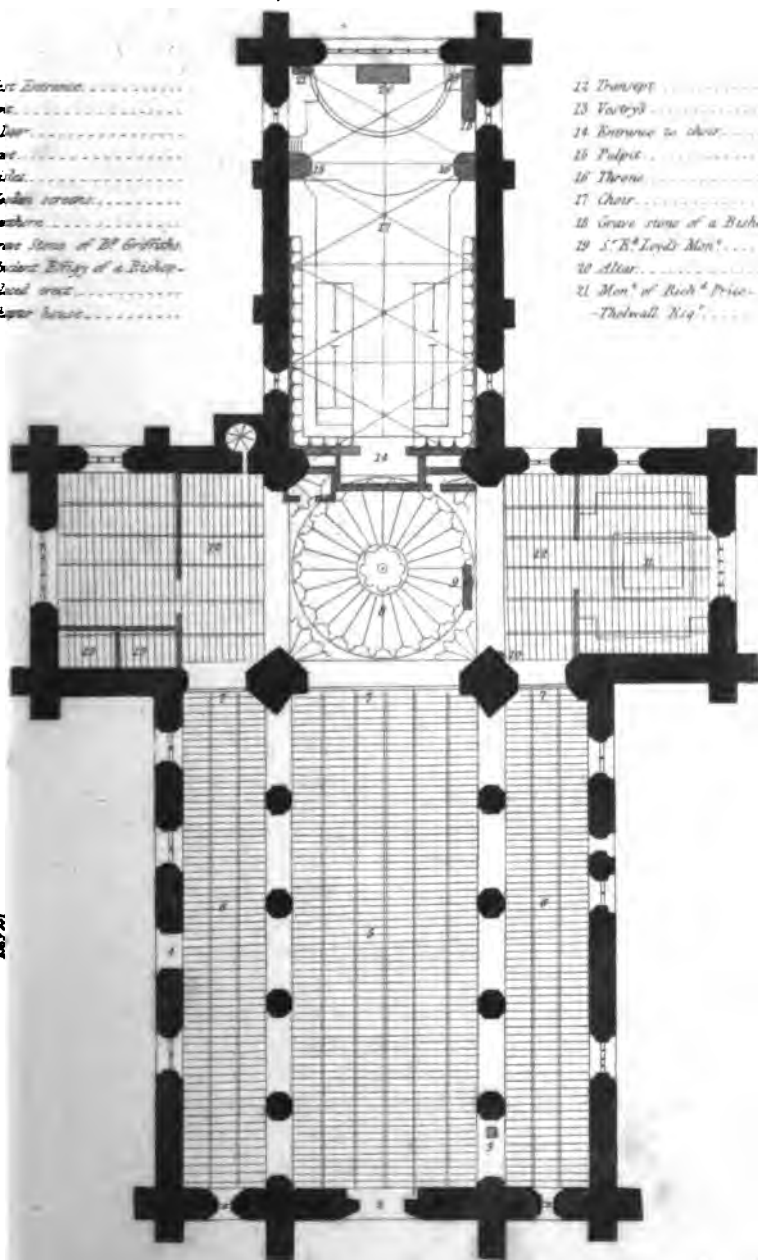
St. Peter's Westgate Cathedral, New York, N.Y.

ST ASAPH'S CATHEDRAL,

Showing the groining of the Roof.

- 2 West Entrance.....
- 3 Nave.....
- 4 Nave.....
- 5 Nave.....
- 6 Choir.....
- 7 Wooden screen.....
- 8 Eastern.....
- 9 Grave stone of B^d Griffiths.....
- 10 Ancient Effigy of a Bishop-
placed west.....
- 11 Chapel house.....

- 12 Transept.....
- 13 Vestry.....
- 14 Entrance to choir.....
- 15 Pulpit.....
- 16 Throne.....
- 17 Choir.....
- 18 Grave stone of a Bishop.....
- 19 S^r R^d Lloyd's Mon^t.....
- 20 Altar.....
- 21 Mon^t of Rich^d Price-
Thelwall Riq^r.....



HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE
OF
Bangor.

THE history of episcopacy in Wales is closely blended with that of collegiate institutions, intended to act as asylums for the religious in early and rude ages, unfavourable to the cultivation of a simple and intellectual faith. However perverted at subsequent periods, these establishments, which were designed by piety and were succoured by beneficence, must be regarded with veneration, as the nurseries of christianity in semi-barbarous times, and as the depositories of that little store of learning which laid the foundation of improvement, in morals and manners, amongst the ancient inhabitants of Cambria.—Of these memorable colleges the most flourishing and celebrated was that known by the different names of Bangor, or Banchor, Is Coed; Bangor Vawr yn Maelor; Bangor Maelor; and Bangor Dunod; situated in Flintshire. According to the historian Cressy, a school of learning was there established in the time of king Lucius, A. D. 189; but writers less prejudiced and credulous are contented with believing that the foundation was laid by Dunod Vawr, son of Pabo, a chieftain who lived about the beginning of the sixth century. Its splendour in prosperity, and the scene of pitiless slaughter which acted as the harbinger of its decay, have equally attracted the attention of enquirers into monastic history, through all succeeding ages. The number of devotees, assembled within the sacred precincts of Bangor Is Coed, was not less, as is asserted by Bede and other ancient writers, than between two and three thousand. Without stopping to investigate the grounds upon which such a return of collegiate population was first made, it may be observed, that the greatness of the alleged number will appear less surprising, when we remember that a considerable portion of those who composed such institutions, in the ages under notice, were illiterate brethren, employed in secular avocations, including the labour of agriculture, for the benefit of such as were capable of performing religious and other exalted offices.

The prosperity of this extensive establishment was, however, of short duration. The pious fraternity vigorously opposed the assumptions of the church of Rome, as exhibited in the person of its missionary, Augustine. The *saint*, we are told, threatened the monks with his *vengeance*; and this resentment was speedily productive of an event, which no saint in the calendar, we will hope, could have either anticipated or authorized. Edilfred, king of Northumberland, instigated, as has been said, by Augustine, commenced a most disastrous war against the Britons; and obtained, in the year 603, a signal victory over Brochwel, their prince. The unhappy British leader had intreated the presence and the prayers of the monks, who, in great numbers, ascended a hill adjacent to the field of battle, and there employed themselves in supplications to the God of mercy, for his direction of the scene of bloodshed in a way favourable to their wishes. The infuriate Northumbrian king deemed such a parade of intercession an act of positive hostility against himself; and ordered his soldiers to pave their way to the opposing men at arms, with the bodies of these wretched summoners of almighty aid in the conduct of an earthly quarrel! His orders were too punctually obeyed; and it is narrated that 1200 monks were slain; fifty only escaping, by flight, to communicate the tidings of woe and ruin.

Shortly after the foundation of the above distinguished, but unfortunate, monastery, and, as is believed, in the year 525, Daniel, or Deiniol, son of Dunod ap Pabo, with the united intentions of relieving a society so inconveniently large, and of extending the means of instruction over another district, erected a collegiate structure in Caernarvonshire, designed to act as a cell, or subordinate member, to Bangor Is Coed. Over this new institution Daniel presided as abbot, until about the year 550, when the college of his foundation was raised to the dignity of a bishopric, and himself appointed the first prelate. Buildings speedily accumulated round the sanctified and populous edifice now constituted an important see; and the growing city, in denotation of its ecclesiastical supremacy, was termed Ban-cor¹.

After the decease of Daniel, who is thought to have sat as bishop about four years, and is registered as a saint, the annals of this see are involved in extreme obscurity for several centuries. In this circumstance of chill, oblivious fortune, the other bishoprics of Wales par-

¹ The derivation and meaning of the term Bangor are thus noticed in sir R. Hoare's Notes upon Giraldua: "When christianity was first established in Britain, it was only in particular societies, which went by the appellation of cor, i. e. circle, society, or congregation, distinguished after by the names of those teachers who established them. When those Coraw began to have authority, they came to be called by the name of Bangor, from ban, high—and cor; that is, the supreme society or college. Thus Bangor Enlli, or Bangor Cadvan, the college in the Isle of Bardsey, was founded by Cadvan, under the direction of Emyr Llydaw, and Einion, son of Owain Danwyn, about the close of the fifth century."

(b)

icipate with that now under consideration; and for such a melancholy blank in the records of ante-Norman ages we have already endeavoured to account, in our History of the Cathedral and See of St. Asaph². One shadowy and uncertain name has been snatched by the hand of deep research from this gloom of desolation. It has been asserted, by Bale and Pitts, that a churchman, termed Elbodus, was nominated to this see about the year 610, by St. Austin; but Willis adduces arguments for believing that those writers are subject to mistake, and that the person whom they name Elbodus was, in reality, no other than Ellodu, who "was certainly bishop of Venedotia, or Bangor, and died such, anno 811, as we find in the *Annales Menevenses*³." In Wynne's History of Wales, it is said that a bishop, named Mordaffs, sat at Bangor in the year 940, and accompanied to Rome the memorable prince and legislator Howel Dha; but such a prelate is not noticed by any other historian of acceptable credit. Although it be found impracticable to present any resemblance of a chronological account of the bishops who presided over our see, whilst the government of South Britain was vested in the Saxons, some few historical particulars have been collected, which are calculated to prove that the interests of christianity, as connected with the established church, were not entirely neglected in this recluse and mountainous district, even in the worst times of intestine war, and its long train of injuries to the moral welfare of mankind. King Athelstan appears to have been a considerable benefactor to the see of Bangor; and in such a judicious exercise of liberality he was imitated by the munificent Edgar, who, in the year 975, caused a new church to be founded on the south side of the cathedral; which building (or a renovated structure on the same site) was used as the parish church of Bangor for many centuries⁴.

Whilst the succession of our prelates is thus unknown, and lost for ever amidst the wrecks of time, it will not be supposed that much historical intelligence can be obtained relating to the cathedral in which they performed the principal ceremonies of their pastoral duty. The little which is retrieved from the fragments of defective record, conveys a lamentable idea of the ferocity of unlettered ages,—times of intellectual deformity, in which the altar itself presented no barrier

² Hist. of St. Asaph, &c. page 6.

³ Willis's Survey of Bangor, p. 55.—In the Welsh Chronicle this bishop is said to have died A. D. 809: "The next year died Elbodius, archbishop of North Wales, before whose death the sunne was sore eclipsed."

⁴ The parish-church of Bangor was dedicated to St. Mary, and was distant about 400 yards from the cathedral. There is no tradition respecting the time at which this fabric was demolished; and no traces of the foundation are now to be seen, although bones have been often found, on digging upon the supposed site of the cemetery. It has, however, been conjectured, and with much appearance of probability, that the church was taken down in the reign of Henry VII. with a view of using its materials in the re-edification of the cathedral.

to the devastating hand engaged in party quarrel. It is stated, in the *Annales Menevenses*, that the cathedral of Bangor was destroyed during the rage of warfare in the year 1071. At what date the structure was rebuilt is not ascertained; but we have distinct notice of a bishop (Herveus, or Hervey) consecrated to this see about the year 1093; and from that time we are enabled to pursue its history through the most comprehensive channel—a notice of such prelates as were instrumental, in a marked degree, to the observance of religious duties amongst those entrusted to their care; or have attained an interesting place in our local annals, from the possession of conspicuous talent, and from transactions appertaining to the cathedral-buildings and temporalities of their diocese.

The cruel impolicy of nominating to the Welsh sees, priests of Norman education and habits, indifferent to the natives, if not actually prejudiced to their disadvantage, was proved in the person of the above-named Herveus. He had been confessor to Henry I. and was, probably, a mere courtier, intent on personal aggrandizement. His severe treatment of the Welsh led to a tumult among that bold and free-spirited people, from which he fled in terror, but met with cordial shelter, and a new bishopric, in England⁵. The next name which demands attention is that of Robert (usually termed Robert of Shrewsbury), who acted a disastrous part in the war between England and Wales, in the reign of king John. The historian Powell, narrating the events of the year 1212, observes that the English monarch, “passing the river of Conway, encamped there, by the river-side, and sent part of his army, with guides of the country, to burn Bangor; which they did, taking *Rotpart*, the bishop, prisoner; who was afterwards ransomed for *two hundred hawkes*”.

Bishop Anian, who received the temporalities in 1268, improved them with industrious, but not avaricious, care. “Being in great favour,” says Willis, “with king Edward I. he obtained divers privileges and immunities to his see; insomuch that most (if not all) the little estate that now belongs to the bishopric was acquired in his time.” Among the numerous grants which he procured from the crown, must be noticed that of Bangor House, in Shoe-lane, which was, for a long time, the London residence of succeeding prelates. Several of the manors then added to the possessions of the see, were presented to this bishop in consequence of his bestowing the baptismal benediction on prince Edward, afterwards second king of England of that name, who was born at the castle of Caernarvon, within the

⁵ In the Appendix to Willis's Survey of Bangor Cathedral, is printed a curious bull of pope Paschal, addressed to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, recommending Herveus to a bishopric. He afterwards became the first bishop of Ely.

diocese of Bangor. Many circumstances, favourable to posthumous celebrity, have concurred in attaching importance to the memory of bishop Anian. As the most interesting of these, must be mentioned a missale, or pontifical, drawn up by him for the service of his church and diocese, which is still preserved in our episcopal library⁶. Richard Younge, elected to this see in 1399, was a zealous adherent to king Henry IV. and was, shortly after his promotion, sent into Germany by that prince, entrusted with the task of representing, in favourable terms, the circumstances attending the deposition of Richard II. During his absence on this mission, his unprotected diocese experienced most severe calamities. This was the period at which Owen Glendwr took to arms, and ravaged the loyal parts of Wales with brutal ferocity. The destruction of the cathedral of St. Asaph by the sacrilegious hand of this ruffian-warrior, has been already noticed; and that of Bangor shared the same fate. So effectual was the irreverent work of devastation, that the whole cathedral-buildings were involved in one disfigured heap of ruin; and it will be shewn, in our survey of the existing structure, that only a trifling and subordinate portion is of a more ancient date than 1402, the year in which this scene of detestable violence took place.

In this state of disgraceful dilapidation our mitred pile lay prostrate for nearly a century, although, during those numerous years, several men of some eminence for virtues and talent were elected to the chair of this diocese. John Stanbury, consecrated in 1448, is mentioned by Leland, and other writers, as one of the most learned men of his age, and was nominated, as such, first provost of the newly-erected college of Eton, by king Henry VI. His ultimate beneficence, in bequeathing a sum of money towards the restoration of our cathedral, induces us to presume that he would have proved an efficient benefactor to that arduous task, if his attention had not been diverted to other objects by a promotion to the see of Hereford, after

⁶ This curious work has been described by Willis as "one of those *Diversities*, or *Uses* in singing, heretofore observed and practised in our church, taken notice of in the Preface, or Order, which follows the Act of Uniformity printed before our excellent Liturgy, or Common Prayer Book; wherein it is provided that, instead of the Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln Uses, there shall be, henceforth, but one Use throughout the whole realm." The following analytical remarks were communicated to the same writer by Dr. Jones, then dean of Bangor:—"The Pontifical, or Liber Bangor, is a folio of a moderate thickness, contains 32 offices, and has abundance of *anthems*, with musical notes to them for singing. At the beginning are the offices of making and ordaining the *Acolyth*, *Subdiacon*, *Diacon*, *Presbyter*, and *Episcop*; Forms of consecrating *Churches* and *Church-yards*, &c.; forms of adjuting of *Bread*, *Cheese*, and *Honey*; Offices for all *Sundays* and *Holydays* throughout the year; Prayers in Times of *Penitence*, *War*, and other occasions. The 13th Office contains the Mass; the 19th, the Form of the Chapters electing their Bishop. In the latter End is the Office of *Baptism*, (where twice Immersion is expressly enjoined) *Communion*, *Visiting the Sick*, *Burying the Dead*, &c. The Rubric part is all Red, but scarce legible. It wants little of being entire, except that the *Index* at the beginning is torn out."

presiding here for five years. The long neglect which the cathedral experienced, will create but little surprise, if the revenues of the see were indeed so deficient as was stated by bishop Ewyndon, or Ednam, in the year 1468. This prelate, in a representation to the pope concerning the extreme poverty of his bishopric, affirms that its annual produce did not exceed the sum of £100; and he, consequently, obtained permission to hold some other benefice, or dignity, in *commendam* with it, for the benefit of himself and his successors.

It was during the prelacy of Henry Dean, elected bishop of Bangor in 1496, and who was afterwards successively translated to Salisbury, and to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, that the restoration of the structure was commenced on a comprehensive scale. It is believed that the choir was rebuilt through his munificence; and, on his promotion to Salisbury, he left to his successor at Bangor his valuable crosier and mitre, on condition that he would finish such works as were then in an imperfect state. During two succeeding prelacies it would appear that nothing new was undertaken; but the pious labour of re-edification was resumed, with a magnificent spirit, by bishop Skeffington, who was consecrated in 1509. In our examination of the buildings, we shall direct the attention of the reader to those extensive portions of the cathedral and palace, which act as lasting monuments of his liberal attention to the interests of a see that had been, through too many ages, either violently persecuted by its foes, or almost equally injured by the blameable indifference of those on whom it depended for support.

It is desirable that we should mention Arthur Bulkeley, advanced to this bishopric, A. D. 1541, in order to vindicate his character from an aspersion cast on it by Godwin. That author charges our bishop with several acts of sacrilegious spoliation; and particularly with selling five bells, taken from the steeple of the cathedral church. As an embellishment of the tale, he condescends to repeat a vulgar tradition, which states that the bishop attended, in person, the exportation of the hallowed furniture thus wrested from the campanile, and was, on his return homewards, stricken with incurable blindness. The prejudices of Godwin have been often noticed; and deeply endangered was that man's fame who lay at his mercy, and thought not as he did! In the present instance, it may be observed, that it is extremely unlikely for five bells to have been contained in the steeple, as only three were provided by bishop Skeffington. The marvellous blindness of the presumed spoliator is sufficiently disproved by Willis, who remarks that several writings, still in existence, were executed

(f)

by him only a few days previous to his death, in a neat and accurate manner, scarcely attainable to a person deprived of sight⁷.

After paying the above just tribute of attention to one of the last Roman Catholic bishops who filled this see, it becomes our pleasing task to notice the most eminent of their successors; ecclesiastics who were born in happier days of religious opinion, and who exhibit the superior effects of the reformed faith on the usual incentives to public and private action. Henry Rowlands, consecrated in 1598, was a liberal benefactor to the repairs of the cathedral (bestowing a new roof upon the part below the choir); and was otherwise intent on dedicating a part of his revenue to works of public advantage. In the annals of religious learning he is commemorated as having founded two fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford; and in those of local charity he is gratefully celebrated for the foundation of an hospital at Bangor, endowed by him for the maintenance of six poor and aged men.—No district in which the dignity of the established church, however temperately displayed, was upheld by pecuniary resources, could be secure from the baneful influence of those civil wars in the 17th century, which may, not unaptly, be termed the diseased and febrile effusions of the body politic. Bishop Roberts presided over our see when this wild storm of human passion first broke forth. Deprived of every thing but his loyalty, and his confidence in the simple faith which he had learned and taught, he proved the injustice of his oppressors, by the blended mildness and fortitude with which he sustained adversity. We are fortunate in being enabled to record that he outlived this futile combustion of the public mind, and became, to use the words of Browne Willis, "an happy instrument in reviving the ancient laudable worship in this cathedral." In the calm season which followed his restoration, he appears to have attended, with due care, to the repairs and embellishment of the church; and in this necessary task he was emulated by his successor, Robert Morgan, a native of Montgomeryshire, and a great sufferer during the rebellion.

The name of Humphrey Lloyd, who was born in Merionethshire, and was promoted hither in the year 1673, must ever be mentioned with respect in the history of this see. The repairs of the cathedral had hitherto depended on optional bounty; whilst the choir was entirely destitute of endowment. Bishop Lloyd procured an act of parliament, appropriating certain revenues to the permanent endowment of the choir, the perpetual repair of the fabric, and the aug-

⁷ A candid and comprehensive disquisition, respecting the charge brought against this bishop by Godwin, is presented in Willis's Survey, p. 101—104. In the Appendix to the same work, and also in the Beauties of England and Wales for Caernarvonshire, is printed the curious last Will of bishop Bulkeley.

mentation of the bishopric⁸. Few prelates have attracted greater notice on the stage of public life, or are more renowned in the annals of controversial writing, than Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, who was consecrated to the see of Bangor, in 1715. This divine had the chosen, but unenviable, lot, of being engaged in polemic disputes throughout nearly the whole of his mature years. The opinions which he espoused were, in general, of an unpopular character; but the favour with which they were received by those political parties which obtained ministerial power, is evinced by the dignified situations to which he was progressively appointed. Whilst Dr. Hoadly presided over this diocese, he became the instigator of a dispute in ecclesiastical politics, which employed the press for several years, and is usually known by the appellation of the "Bangorian Controversy." This literary warfare amongst clerical writers originated in a sermon preached by our bishop, upon these words: "My kingdom is not of this world." In expatiating upon his text, Dr. Hoadly maintained that the clergy had no pretensions to any temporal jurisdiction. He preached in an age when religious professions were too much blended with the designs of human policy; and a long controversy ensued, in which Dr. Snape bore a distinguished share; but which was conducted in a manner that, perhaps, reflects no exalted credit on either of the parties engaged. It would require an extensive dissertation upon the politics which prevailed in the early part of the 18th century, to explain the causes which led the people to disapprove of Dr. Hoadly's sentiments, and induced the court to patronize them. It may suffice to observe, in the present page, that our polemic bishop, as "champion of the low church," was successively promoted to the sees of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester. He died in the year 1761; and his works⁹ were collectively published, in three volumes folio, by his son, in 1773. In the list of succeeding prelates, are eminent the names of the eloquent Thomas Sherlock (who appeared for the first time, as an author, in the celebrated Bangorian controversy, in which he opposed Dr. Hoadly); and Thomas Herring, afterwards advanced to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Dr. Majendie, our present respected bishop, was promoted hither in the year 1809.

The cathedral of Bangor possesses no claim on admiration from extent of dimensions, magnificence of decoration, or profoundness of

⁸ This Act, which was obtained in the first year of James II. is printed in the Appendix to Willis's Survey. In the Preamble it is stated that the Cathedral is in a very ruinous state, and that the "certain revenue of the bishopric doth not amount to the yearly revenue of 800*l*."

⁹ Although his intellects were vigorous, and he possessed keen powers of disputation, Dr. Hoadly's style was confused, and otherwise faulty; a defect thus noticed by Pope:

"——— Swift for closer style,
But Hoadly for a period of a mile."

antiquity. The extreme poverty of the see, throughout those ages in which the pile was originally constructed and progressively renovated, will sufficiently account for its limited proportions and simplicity of character. The ravages of war, which have been already narrated and stigmatized in these pages, preclude all hopes of our discovering, on a spot so much exposed to hostile visitations, any important architectural remains of a remote date.

This cathedral is situated on the north side of the city of Bangor, and is surrounded by a cemetery, or churchyard, which, although still small, has been considerably enlarged within the last ten years¹⁰. The material of which the building is composed, is stone, which is of a dusky hue, but by no means of an unpleasing aspect; and is proved to be of salutary durability, by its present uninjured appearance. The structure is low in proportions and situation. Destitute, therefore, of all pretensions to commanding grandeur of effect, it relies on the modesty of its architectural features, and on the neatness of simplicity, for the advantage of a favourable first impression on the mind of the spectator. Placed in the vicinity of a mountainous tract, where the "threatening Snowdon frowns amidst his circle of ponderous tributaries," it would appear to assimilate with the ancient, unostentatious manners of the inhabitants:—firm, though unassuming; respectable, but unadorned. The plan of the cathedral is cruciform, with a low square tower rising from the west end. A row of clerestory windows extends to the whole length of the nave; but the obtuse, depressed heads of these windows exhibit the pointed arch in its declining days; and the clerestory imparts little of airiness or elegance to the edifice. The architectural examiner will, however, find some gratification on viewing, at the west end, a spacious door and window, well-designed, and executed in a style worthy of English architecture in its most prosperous season.

The interior comprises a nave with two side aisles; north and south transepts; a choir, with some official buildings attached to its north side; and a quadrangular area between the choir, the nave, and the transepts. An outline of the architectural history of the present edifice has been afforded by our notice of the prelates who contributed towards its erection. A more minute discrimination of their respective works is the duty of the present and ensuing pages.—Of the ancient structure, contumeliously involved in ruin by Owen Glendwr, A. D. 1402, it is believed that no fragment now remains, except a sepulchral erection at the extremity of the south transept; unless two contiguous buttresses may be supposed of nearly equal antiquity; a

¹⁰ When this enlargement of the church yard took place, some mean houses on the south-east part were taken down, and a short range of neat and well-planned almshouses erected.

conjecture, perhaps, authorized by their architectural character. Independent of these dubious and unimportant parts, no division of the present cathedral can be ascribed to an earlier date than the 15th century.—The choir was built under the direction of bishop Dean, promoted hither in 1496, and is chiefly adorned by its large east window, which is divided into several compartments, but, unlike the most celebrated specimens of the style that prevailed in the time of Henry VII. has little of the embellishment arising from tracery-work. This window, together with others, in different parts of the choir, is described by Willis, whose "Survey" was published in 1721, as being enriched with painted glass (saints, and bishops in their robes and mitres, &c.) but the whole appears to have been then in a mutilated and decaying state, and has been since removed. The roof is cased with common plaister; and the furniture is of a homely, and rather displeasing, character. The stalls for the dean, prebendaries, and other dignitaries and official persons, were erected soon after the restoration; and are in the worst mode of that tasteless period. The episcopal throne would appear to have been designed and executed by a common workman of the country; and similar terms of description will apply to the altar.

The entire body of the church, from the choir downwards to the west end, including the tower, was built by bishop Skeffington, between the years 1509 and 1532". Some repairs and slight alterations, however, have been effected; and the most important of these shall be noticed.

The nave is separated from the side aisles by six obtusely-pointed arches, resting on octangular columns, or pillars. The ceiling of this part of the church is described by Willis as comprising "nine beams, well wrought, and beautified with carved work." The following particulars of information are also afforded by the same writer: "There are four pannels between each beam, the corners of which are carved. This ceiling looks well, though it is not wainscotted, and only planked under the lead; but the work being close, and most of it moulded, it has no ill appearance, though it was never painted. There are but two escutcheons throughout the whole building of the church, and they are in the ceiling of the nave, and are in memory of bishop Vaughan and bishop Rowland; which bishops very much adorned and repaired this church." Since the survey of our cathedral was made by Browne Willis, some alterations have been here effected. In the time of bishop Cleaver it was ascertained that the roof was

11 On the outside of the tower is the following inscription, in ancient characters, "Thomas Skeffington, Episcopus Bangorise, hoc Campanile et Ecclesiam fieri fecit A°. Partus Virginie MCCCCCXXII.

in a state of dangerous decay, and a renovation of this part of the fabric consequently took place. The simplicity of its ancient character was, however, preserved; and the roofing still exhibits framework of timber, but destitute of carved ornaments or historical allusions. Between the choir and nave is erected a fine-toned organ, given to the church by the late dean Lloyd, in the year 1779. The front of the organ gallery is a puerile and mean imitation of the English style of design, as occasionally displayed, with such captivating touches of genius, in the screen-work of ancient sacred edifices.

When writing concerning the transept of this cathedral (or, as he terms it, the "great cross-ile"), Browne Willis intimates that "most part" of this division of the structure was "standing before" the time at which bishop Dean commenced those labours of restoration, which were completed by bishop Skeffington. We have already shewn that, from the architectural character of the transepts, Mr. Willis was probably subject to error in making this assertion; and that the remains of the cathedral-buildings desolated by Owen Glendwr are, in reality, confined to some inconsequential particulars, although those trifling vestiges do, assuredly, occur in this part of the edifice. The transepts possess little architectural interest, but display, in the leading features of their arrangement, as will be seen from our engraved views, the style of the 16th century, in one of the most frugal and homely of its modifications. The interior is quite devoid of laboured ornament, and is not known to have experienced any improvement entitled to observation, since the time of bishop Rowlands. On the plain ceiling of both transepts is inscribed the name of this prelate, with the date 1611; evincing the period at which certain memorable repairs were completed under his direction. The area which intervenes at the meeting of the choir, the nave, and the transepts, has been long set apart for the performance of divine service in the ancient British language. Browne Willis supposes that it was originally designed to erect a tower over this part of the church, as is usual in similar cruciform structures. "Between the nave and the quire," observes that writer, "is a square space, supported by four pillars, or pretty large arches, the foundation, or bottom, of which looks pillar-like; and the arches are so wrought as if they were made up of several little pillars. Over these a steeple seems to have been designed to have been erected."

The buildings on the north side of the choir are greatly injurious to the architectural effect of that part of the structure, and are described by Willis as consisting of two stories, the upper division forming one room, and being designed for a library, the lower comprising

three compartments, "a store-room for the uses of the church, a vestry, and a chapter-house, including a parochial lending library." Some alterations in this extraneous building took place under the direction of bishop Warren; at which time the ancient chapter-house was converted into the registrar's office, and a new chapter-room was built above. The windows of the latter division of the building are lamentably incongruous with the style of architecture that prevails throughout other parts of the structure; but it is pleasing to observe, that they constitute the only instances in which the plan of the original designer (however unostentatious its merits) has experienced violation from the injudicious hand of the mere builder. Whilst bestowing this alloyed commendation, it is requisite that we render a just tribute of unmixed praise to the dignified persons latterly entrusted with the superintendence of our cathedral. The exemplary neatness with which it is preserved, has been uniformly noticed by those numerous tourists who have communicated to the public the result of their investigations in this alpine and attractive district. From the ruinous magnificence of St. David's the examiner turns, with pleasure, to the well-preserved fabric of our unaspiring cathedral. We view in "Menevia" the decaying, and disregarded, splendour of ages intent on the outward ceremonials, and pompous habits, of religion. At Bangor the antiquary finds little that is deserving of laborious attention; but, whilst cherishing the best feelings of christian philosophy, he has serious cause of gratulation, in beholding a pile adapted to more limited purposes, which is still maintained in decorous repair, and has no useless architectural member to be discarded, and thrown among the gorgeous lumber of a superstitious era. It has been already suggested that the existing fund for the reparation of our church originated in the liberal interference of bishop Lloyd, who, in the year 1685, procured an act of parliament, appropriating to this purpose, and to the endowment of the choir, the rents accruing from the rectory of Landinam, in Montgomeryshire. Amongst other improvements at present in contemplation, must be mentioned a plan for enlarging the choir of the cathedral, which is now too small for the increasing population, and numerous visitors, of Bangor.

In common with the other cathedral churches of Wales, this structure contains few monuments of an interesting character. The most ancient sepulchral memorial is situated within a low and flat arch, at the south end of the south transept. Browne Willis describes it as being "covered with a free stone, on which is a cross that divides the length and breadth of the stone;" and a later writer asserts that this sculptured emblem is of a decorated description, being no other than

(m)

the cross fleury. But it would be with a great indulgence of fancy that we believed any traces of such a piece of sculpture to be now remaining.

It has been usually supposed that this monument was erected to Owen Gwynedh, who died in 1169. A reverend and learned contributor of information to the present work, who possesses much local and antiquarian knowledge in regard to the history of this cathedral, is of opinion, however, that it was designed to commemorate Gruffyth ap Conan, father of the above-named prince, who died A.D. 1137, and is stated in the Welsh annals to have been buried at Bangor¹². It is observed by Willis that "the oldest memorandum of any bishop whatsoever extant, buried at Bangor," is an inscription to bishop Glynn, who died in 1558, and lies interred near the communion table. In fact, only few of our prelates resided on their see, or were buried in their own cathedral, previous to the reformation. The earliest bishop recorded to have been buried here is Anian Seys, who died in the year 1337. The mutilated monuments of two later bishops, as they appeared in the year 1721, may be thus noticed in the words of Browne Willis. On the north side of the choir "are the effigies (or rather busts) of two bishops, viz. bishop Vaughan and bishop Rowlands, which are put close to the wall, though they seem to be in a niche. The effigies are of alabaster, with a sweep of the same material from the waste upwards, in their habits, each upon a cushion; the hands of one in a praying posture, the other with one hand a-kimboe, and the other resting on a bible. Their heads were beaten off in the time of the rebellion; but the inscription, which is on a black marble, and was put up by bishop Rowlands a little before his death, is still remaining." The inscription, which is in Latin, and of considerable length, narrates the descent of these successive bishops, and the friendly intercourse which subsisted between them. There is not any funeral memorial to a dignitary of more recent occurrence, with the exception of a small mural monument to Dean Jones, who deceased, A.D. 1727.

The cathedral acts as the parochial church of Bangor¹³; divine service being celebrated in the Welsh language (as has been already intimated) in the area between the nave, the choir, and the transepts.

¹² It is fortunate that the identity of the person here interred is not a subject of very important enquiry, since it is involved in considerable doubt. In the reign of Henry II. archbishop Baldwin was shewn, in Bangor cathedral, the tombs of prince Owen and his brother Cadwallader, who were "buried in a double vault before the high altar." As Owen had been excommunicated "by the blessed martyr, St. Thomas," the archbishop thought proper to direct that his remains should be removed from the church, at the first convenient opportunity. In the Hengwrt MSS. as copied by sir R. Hoare, it is said that the bishop, in obedience to the above charge, "made a passage from the vault through the south wall of the church, under ground; and thus secretly shovelled the body into the church-yard."

¹³ It has been long in the contemplation of the dean and chapter to erect a distinct chapel for the performance of divine service in Welsh; and it is understood that this intention will be carried into effect, as soon as their finances will allow.

The choir is appropriated to the usual cathedral service in English¹⁴, which is always performed subsequently to religious worship in the native tongue. The chapter is constituted by the under-named twelve dignitaries:—The dean; the bishop, as archdeacon of Bangor; the bishop, as archdeacon of Anglesey; the archdeacon of Merioneth; the prebendary of Llauvair; the prebendary of Penmynydd; the treasurer; the chancellor; the precentor; three canons, according to their degrees.

The bishop's palace is situated on the north side of the cathedral, at the distance of about 200 yards; and is a modest, but handsome and substantial edifice, erected on a sheltered and retired spot. Nature has here shed abundant charms; and her bounty has been judiciously cultivated by the simplicity of a correct taste. Placed under the shade of a steep and well-wooded hill, and encompassed by grounds of limited dimensions, but elegantly disposed, all around appears calculated to impart peace, and to nurture habits of study, profound but not gloomy. A large part of this very appropriate episcopal residence was constructed in the time of bishop Skeffington; but many alterations have been recently effected. The surrounding grounds were augmented, and a road, formerly too close in its approaches, was removed, without injury to the public, in the time of bishop Warren. The most important improvements, however, have been executed under the direction of the present bishop, who has increased the size and internal convenience of the structure, without detracting, in any particular, from its original simplicity of character.

The deanery is nearly contiguous to the palace, being placed at the north-west angle of the cathedral yard; and wears an estimable air of comfort, neatness, and respectability.

The diocese of Bangor comprises the entire county of Anglesey, and the whole of Caernarvonshire, except three parishes; more than half the county of Merioneth; fourteen parishes in Denbighshire; and seven parishes in the county of Montgomery. This extensive district is divided into three archdeaconries, two of which (as will be seen in our enumeration of dignitaries composing the chapter) are vested in the bishop.

The little city of Bangor, according to all reasonable calculation,

¹⁴ The endowed choristers are four in number, and are assisted in the celebration of the service by the grammar-scholars on Dr. Glynn's foundation, who are instructed in vocal music by the organist. The following remarks are extracted from a judicious historical notice of "Cathedral Schools," inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1817.—"The endowed choristers are generally chosen from Dr. Glynn's scholars. They receive a classical education in the Free Grammar School, where they are also taught writing and arithmetic; and the organist of the cathedral, for the time being, is responsible for their musical attainments. The former choristers of Bangor Cathedral have usually settled very respectably in life, and do credit to their respective instructors. A great proportion have taken holy orders."

derived its first importance from the celebrated college founded here in the sixth century; if, indeed, it be not indebted for its earliest assemblage of buildings to that circumstance of ecclesiastical favour. In an examination respecting the history of this place, it would be quite superfluous to bestow serious attention on the remarks of those writers who stray beyond the reach of record, and, in the bold exercise of a superstitious fancy, endeavour to create a "new world" of topography, without having "exhausted the old." In regard to the aspect and character of Bangor, the following remarks were made upon the spot by the present writer:—"The eye, accustomed to the view of metropolitan splendour may, possibly, look with contempt on the low buildings of this remote city; but the more general observer will survey in them the happy mean between comfortless magnificence, and squalid poverty. Sullenly withdrawn to some considerable distance, frowns the threatening Snowdon, like the fabled monarch of the giants surrounded by his peers, or the chief described by Ossian, 'whose spear resembled the blasted fir; his shield the rising moon; his dark host rolling, as clouds, around him.' In the other direction, the currents of the Menai, and the waters of the Irish sea, unite to form the tranquil waves of a picturesque bay; while the little city, protected by nature on every side, emits the peaceful volumes of her smoke in the repose of humility."

The city of Bangor, although still humble in pretensions, has experienced a great increase of population in the course of the last century. Browne Willis, after mentioning the parish as containing "several *vills*," states the total number of houses to be 206, in the year 1721; which, on a conjectural calculation of five inmates to each house, makes the number of inhabitants 1030. According to the returns made to government in the year 1811, this aggregate had increased to 474 houses, containing 2383 persons; and fresh buildings are continually, though not rapidly, accumulating. Literary tourists, of various descriptions, have lately combined to render Wales an object of attraction, even to the luxurious traveller; and the influx of autumnal visitants to this northern recess of Cambria is now great, and conduces much towards the traffic and prosperity of the place.

The relics of antiquity here presented, together with the charitable and useful establishments, are the subjects of inquiry best suited to the present work. It was to be ascertained, through history, that a castle was founded here by Hugh, earl of Chester, in the reign of William II. but a knowledge of its site was confined to a small local sphere, until communicated to the public by Mr. Pennant. It is

observed by that writer, that the vestiges are situated "nearly a quarter of a mile eastward of the town, on the ridge of hills which bound the south-east of the vale. The castle stood on a rocky, and, in many parts, a precipitous hill. Three sides of the walls are easily to be traced; and they end, on two directions, in a precipice. On the fourth side, the natural strength of the place rendered a farther defence useless. Mounds of earth, tending to a semi-circular form, with rocks and precipices, connect the north-east and south-west walls."

At a small distance from the town stood a monastery for black friars, founded, as is believed, in the year 1299, by Tudor ap Gronw. After the dissolution of religious houses, this was converted into a free school, in attention to the will of Jeffry Glynn, brother to William Glynn, bishop of Bangor. Although the original endowment was small, it has nurtured the growth of an establishment highly respectable, and of great utility.

The hospital, or almshouse, founded by bishop Rowlands, affords assistance to six aged single men, who, according to the will of the founder, were to receive, respectively, two shillings per week, and annually six yards of "frieze," for clothing.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

LENGTH from east to west 214 feet; do. of the tower at the west end 10 feet; do. of the nave or body 141 feet; do. of the choir, which extends entirely to the east end, and begins beyond the cross aisle, 33 feet; do. of the cross aisles from north to south, 60 feet.—BREADTH of the body and side aisles 60 feet.—HEIGHT of the body to the top of the roof 34 feet; do. of the tower 60 feet.—SQUARE of the tower 24 feet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1. An Interior View, taken from the North Transept; showing the Window of the South Transept; the area in which Welsh Service is performed; the Organ Loft; and part of the Choir.

Plate 2. Interior of the Nave, exhibiting the Font, the Consistory Court, and the Screen of the Bell Tower.

Plate 3. The South Transept, and part of the Choir. Beneath the great Window of the Transept, is seen the ancient piece of masonry popularly denominated Owen Glendwr's Monument.

Plate 4. Displays the Tower, situated at the West End of the Cathedral.

Plate 5. A View of the Cathedral and City, including part of the romantic scenery in their vicinity. In the distance, on the left, is seen the Isle of Anglesea, its shore being enlivened by the town of Beaumaris. Beyond the head-land of this district (a neighbourhood celebrated as the final retreat of the Druids of Ancient Britain), is shown Priestholm, a small island divided by the narrow channel, called the Sound, from the eastern extremity of Anglesea.

Plate 6. The East End of the Cathedral. The windows in the northern division of this part of the fabric, appertain to the Chapter-house, &c.

Plate 7. The Tower, with the Clerestory Windows of the nave, and the South Aisle.

Plate 8. A View of the Episcopal Palace. In the distance are seen the Cathedral, and some of those picturesque heights which protect and adorn the city of Bangor.

BANGOR.

BISHOPS.

Daniel	550	Llewelyn Bifort	1404	Lewis Bayly	1616
Eloddu		Benedict Nicolls	1408	David Dolben	1631
Herveus	1603	William Barrow	1417	Edmund Griffith	1632
Urban	1107	John Clitherow	1423	William Roberts	1637
David	1120	Thomas Cheryton	1436	Robert Price	1665
Maurice	1139	John Stanbery	1448	Robert Morgan	1666
William	1162	James Blakedon	1452	Humphrey Lloyd	1673
Guy Rufus	1177	Richard Ewyndon	1464	Humph. Humphreys	1689
<i>See Vacant.</i>		Henry Dean	1496	John Evans	1701
Albanus	1195	Thomas Piggot	1500	Benjamin Hoadley	1715
Robt. of Shrewsbury	1196	John Penny	1505	Richard Reynold	1721
<i>See vacant Two Years.</i>		Thomas Pace, alias		William Baker	1723
Martin	1215	Skeffington	1508	Thomas Sherlock	1728
Howel	1236	John Saleot	1533	Charles Cecil	1734
Richard	1238	John Birde	1539	Thomas Herring	1737
Anian	1268	Arthur Bulkeley (1)	1541	Matthew Hutton	1743
Griffiths	1306	<i>See vacant Two Years.</i>		Zachary Pearce	1748
Anian Seys	1339	William Glynn	1555	John Egerton	1756
Mat. de Englefield	1327	Maurice Glennock	1558	John Ewer	1769
T. de Ringstead	1357	Rowland Meyrick	1559	John Moore	1775
Gervase	1366	Nicholas Robinson	1566	John Warren	1783
Howel	1370	Hugh Bellot	1585	William Cleaver	1800
John Gilbert	1372	Richard Vaughan	1595	John Randolph	1807
John Swaffham	1376	<i>See vacant One Year.</i>		H. W. MAJENDIE	1809
Richard Younge	1399	Henry Rowlands	1598		

DEANS.

Arthur de Bardsey (2)	1162	Nigellus Bondeby		Henry Rowlands	1593
Kyndelw	1216	John Martyn		Richard Parry	1599
William		Hugh Alcock		John Williams	1605
Anian Seys	1300	Hugh Morgan		Edmund Griffith	1613
Adam	1309	Nicholas Rewys		Griffith Williams	1634
Elias		Richard Kyffyn	1480	William Lloyd	1673
Howel	1359	Richard Cowland	1502	Humph. Humphreys	1680
John	1370	John Glynn	1506	John Jones	1619
David Daron		Robert Evans	1534	Peter Maurice	1727
William Pollard		Rhese Powell	1554	Hugh Hughes	1750
Henry Honore	1410	Robert Evans	1557	Thomas Lloyd	1753
Roger Woodhele	1413	Roland Thomas	1570	JOHN WARREN	1792
John Vainfort	1416	Hugh Bellot	1588		

(1) The last will of bishop Bulkeley, to which we have alluded in our historical notice of the cathedral, as a document too long for insertion in this work, contains several particulars which appear to lessen the probability of the bishop having been so entirely the slave of avarice as to commit acts of sacrilegious spoliation. The following passages may be extracted, in proof of the justice of this assertion: "*Item.* I do declare and testify, by this my last will and testament, that, whereas, I had a certain sum of money in my custody of the cathedral church goods, that, by the advice of Dr. William Glynn, and other the canons there, I did fully bestow the same money, and much more, upon the roof and leads of the south side of the church, which before was ready to fall, the reparation whereof did cost forty-two pounds. *Item.* My lord archbishop of Canterbury hath a speciality of me, whereby I am indebted to his grace in the sum of twenty pounds, whereof I have paid ten, and therefore have an acquittance; and beseech his grace to forgive me and my executors the residue, in respect I have incurred notable debts in defence of this poor church."

(2) Le Neve (*Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanæ*, &c.) commences the deans of Bangor with *Jago Ab Eli*, who "flourished about the year 605." Browne Willis rejects the nomination of a dean so early, and suggests that this "Jago" was not an ecclesiastic, but a temporal prince, who, either in his own person or through the means of his son, Cadvan, "assisted his countrymen in the year 603, aforesaid, in taking revenge on the barbarous Saxons, who had slaughtered the monks of Bangor-is-Coed, Flintshire." The same author supposes it to be probable that Jago, "after his successful expedition, might be generous to this our poor Bangor, to enable it to take in, and harbour, some of those distressed clergy, who, upon the destruction of their convent, or college, were dispersed to seek for new settlements;" but observes, that there is no ancient authority for asserting that he then founded a deanery at Bangor.

INDEX TO BANGOR CATHEDRAL.

* * * *The Italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side ; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.*

Anian, bishop, received the temporalities of this see in 1206, d; improved them with industrious care, ib.; procured numerous grants from the crown, ib.; bestowed the baptismal benediction on Edward II. ib.; a pontifical drawn up by him for the service of his church, e.—Athelstan, King, c; supposed to have been a considerable benefactor to this see, ib.

Bangor, city, derived its first importance from a collegiate foundation, o p; remarks on the character and aspect of the city, p; experienced great increase of population in the last century, ib.; number of houses and inhabitants, ib.—Bangor-house, in Shoe Lane, procured from the crown by bishop Anian, d; long the London residence of succeeding bishops, ib.—Bangor Is Coed, number of devotees assembled within its precincts, a; derivation and meaning of the term Bangor, b. N.—Bulkeley, bishop, f; charged by Godwin with sacrilegious spoliation, ib.; said by that writer to have been stricken blind, ib.; his blindness disproved by Willis, ib.

Cathedral, supposed to have been destroyed by war, d; involved in ruin by Owen Glendwr, e; plan of the cathedral, i; description of door and window at the west end, ib.; interior of the building, i l; no part of an earlier date than the 15th century, k; choir built under the direction of bishop Dean, ib.; large east window described by Willis, ib.; the roof, ib.; the furniture, ib.; the throne and altar, ib.; description of the nave by Willis, ib.; organ, b; transepts, ib.; buildings on the north side of the choir, b m; new chapter house, m.—Chapel, one intended to be built for the performance of divine service in Welsh, a N.—Chapter, titles of the dignitaries of which it consists, o.—Chester, earl of, founded a castle at Bangor, p; remains of that building, g.—Choristers, o N; assisted by the grammar scholars, ib.—Church, parish, dedicated to St. Mary, c N; supposed to have been taken down in the reign of Henry VII, ib.—College, instituted at Bangor, b; converted into a bishopric, ib.

Daniel, bishop, b; erected a collegiate structure in Caernarvonshire, ib.; presided over it as abbot, ib.—Dean, bishop, f; the choir rebuilt by him, ib.; left to his successor his crozier and mitre, ib.—Deanery, o.—Diocese, extent of, o.

Edgar, king, caused a new church to be founded at Bangor, c; Edliffred, king of Northumberland, commenced war against the Britons, b; obtained a victory over Brochwel their Prince, ib.; caused 1200 monks to be slain, ib.—Elbodas, supposed bishop of this see, c.—Episcopacy in Wales closely blended with the foundation of collegiate institutions, a.—Evyndon, or Ednam, bishop, f; represented to the pope the poverty of the bishopric, ib.; obtained permission to hold some other benefice, in commendam, ib.

Herring, bishop, A.—Herveus, Bishop, d; his severe treatment of the Welsh, ib.; fled

to England and found shelter there, ib.; afterwards became bishop of Ely, ib. N.—Hoddeley, bishop, k; his opinions once of an unpopular character, ib.; his works collectively published by his son, ib.; his style of writing confused, ib. N.—Hospital or almshouse, g.

Lloyd, bishop, procured an act of parliament for the augmentation of the bishopric, g A.—Lucius, king, a school of learning supposed to have been established in his time, a.

Majendie, Dr. present bishop of Bangor, A.—Monastery for Black Friars, g; converted into a free school, ib.—Monuments, the cathedral contains few that are interesting, m; one described by Willis supposed to commemorate Gruffyth ap Conan, m s; effigies of two bishops described by Willis, s; the inscription still remaining, ib.; monument of Dean Jones, ib.—Mordaft, bishop, believed by Wynne to have sat at Bangor, c; but is not noticed by any other historian of credit, ib.—Morgan, bishop, bestowed great attention on the repairs of the cathedral, g; suffered severely in the time of the civil wars, ib.

Palace, Bishop's, handsome and substantial, o; erected on a retired spot, ib.; great part built in the time of bishop Skeffington, ib.; the most important improvements made by the present bishop, ib.

Robert, usually termed Robert of Shrewsbury, d; acted a disastrous part in the war between England and Wales in the reign of John, ib.; taken prisoner at that time and afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks; ib.—Roberts, bishop, presided over the see in the time of the civil wars, g; attended to the repairs and embellishment of the cathedral, ib.—Rowlands, bishop, g; a liberal benefactor to the cathedral, ib.; bestowed a new roof upon the part below the choir, ib.; founded two fellowships at Jesus College, and an hospital at Bangor, ib.

See, annals of, involved in great obscurity for several centuries after the death of bishop Daniel, b.—Seys, Anian, said to have been the earliest bishop buried in this cathedral, a.—Sherlock, bishop, an author in the Bangorian controversy, A.—Skeffington, bishop, f; attentive to the interests of his see, ib.—Stanbury, bishop, e; mentioned as one of the most learned men of his age, ib.; bequeathed a sum of money towards the restoration of the cathedral, ib.

Vaughan, bishop, liberally contributed to the repairs and embellishment of the cathedral, k; his escutcheon placed in the ceiling of the nave, ib.—Vawr, Dunod, supposed to have laid the foundation of a school of learning, a.

Warren, bishop, improved the grounds attached to the palace, o.—Willis, Browne, formed an erroneous opinion of the date of the transepts, l.

Younge, bishop, e; a zealous adherent to Henry IV. ib.; sent to Germany by that king, to represent the circumstances attending the deposition of Richard II. ib.



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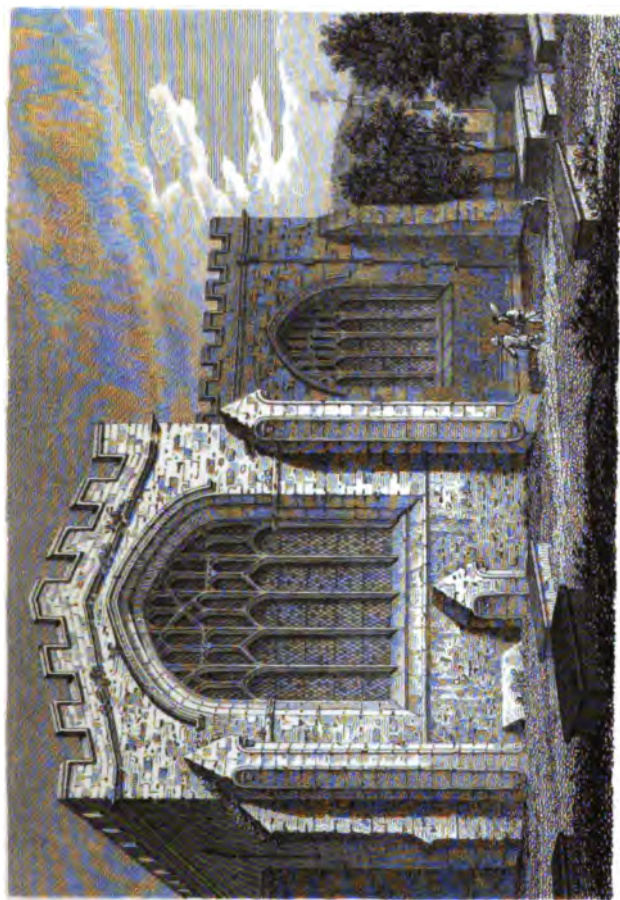


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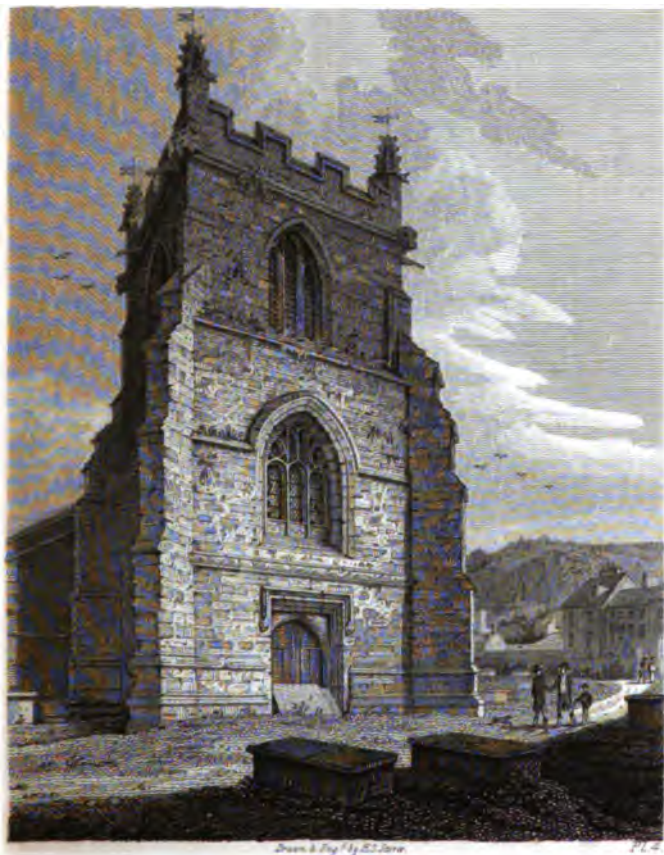
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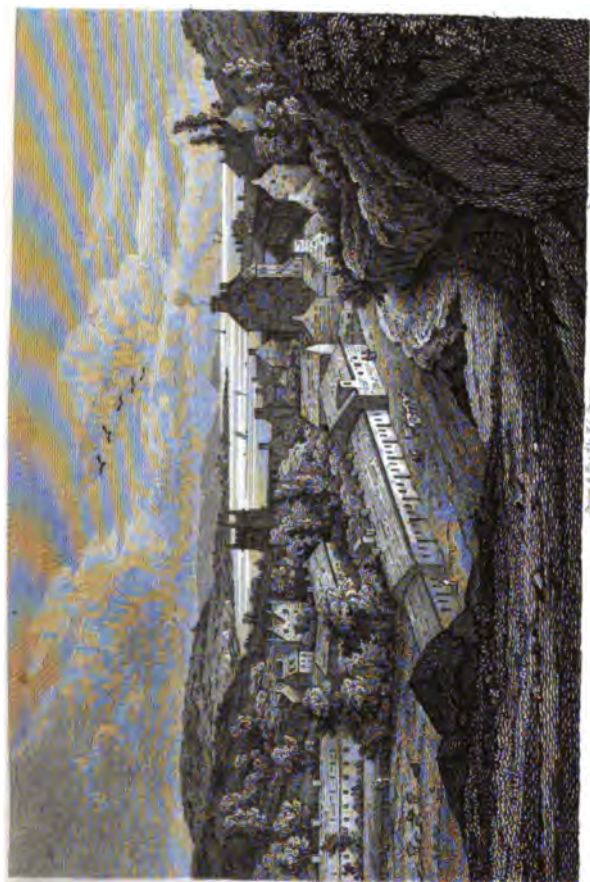


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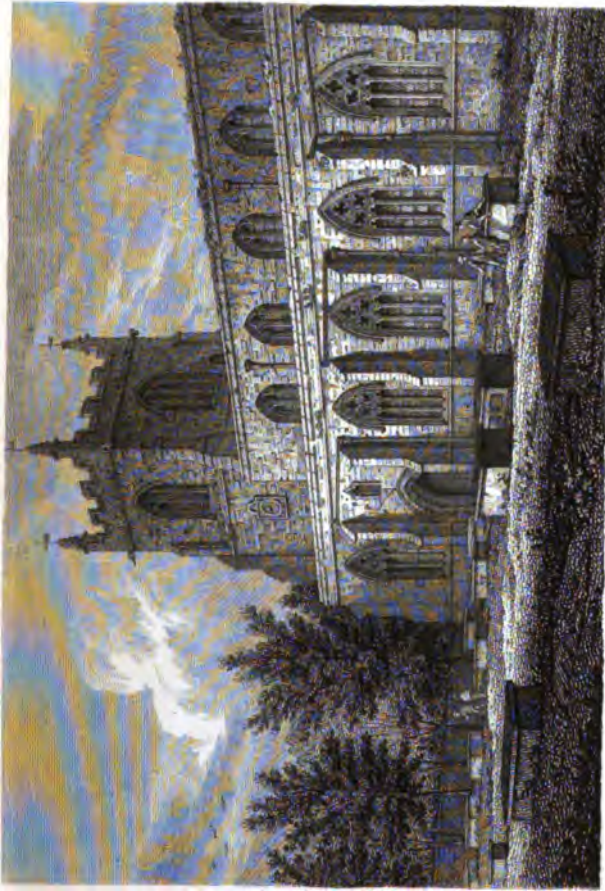
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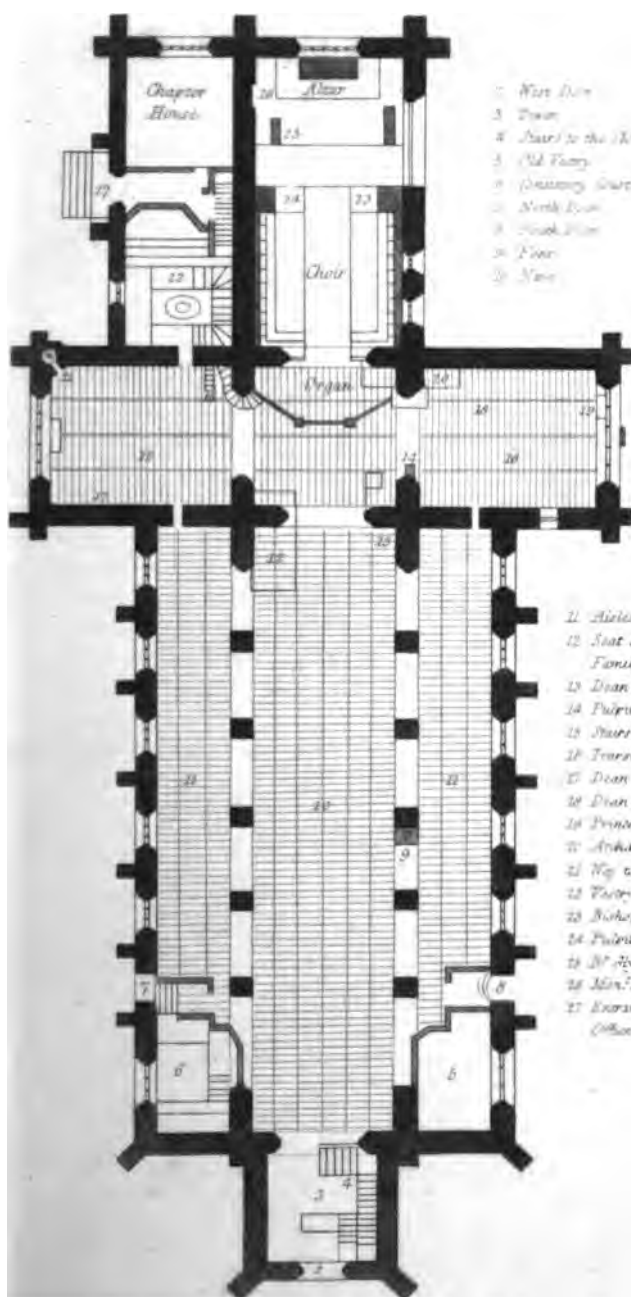


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BANGOR CATHEDRAL.

Shewing the graving of the Roof.



- 1 West Door
- 2 Tower
- 3 Stairs to the West
- 4 Old Tower
- 5 Crossing Tower
- 6 North Door
- 7 South Door
- 8 Floor
- 9 Nave

- 11 Altar
- 12 Seat of the Penrhyn Family
- 13 Dean Tress Mon^t
- 14 Pulpit
- 15 Stairs to Organ
- 16 Treasury
- 17 Dean Tress Mon^t
- 18 Dean Tress grave stone
- 19 Prince Gwynedd's Tomb
- 20 Archbishop Gwynedd Mon^t
- 21 Way to the West
- 22 Tower
- 23 Bishop's Throne
- 24 Pulpit
- 25 St. John's grave stone
- 26 Mon^t for a Bishop
- 27 Entrance to Register Office

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE

OF

Bath, Somersetshire.

OF the first introduction of christianity into the City of Hot Springs, there exists no authentic intelligence. If the waters were discovered and the city founded by the supposed king Bladud, then doubtless this place, like others in Britain, was favoured with the light of revelation in the first century, as the christians always directed their attention to places having heathen temples. The peculiar amenity indeed of its situation gives some plausibility to its high antiquity; but those who have blended its origin with the fables about Troy¹, have added little to the science of history and less to the true interests of society. Mr. Warner, however, has swept away those cobweb fables, and adduced many circumstances to prove that the *Hædvi* and *Belgæ*, who inhabited the country around Bath², were nothing better than nomade pastors, that

¹ Were not the admixture of fable and fact always injurious to the progress of truth, the antiquarian legends respecting Bath would be highly amusing. Dr. Jones, in 1572, makes Bladud the thirtieth person in a direct line from Adam! his work is entitled "The Bathes of Bathes Ayde; wonderful and most excellent agaynst very many sicknesses; approved by authoritie: confirmed by reason, and dayly tried by experience; with the antiquitie, commoditie, property, knowledge, use, aphorismes, diet, medicine, and other thinges, there to be considered and observed." Mr. Wood connects king Bladud with the supposed Trojan Brutus, and observes that "the British prince (Bladud) appears to have been a great prophet, and the most eminent philosopher of all antiquity. He was the renowned Hyperborean high priest of Apollo that shined in Greece at the very time Pythagoras flourished. He was a disciple and colleague of that celebrated philosopher, and amongst the Grecians he bore the names of Aithrobates and Abaris, names implying the exalted idea which that learned race of people had of his great abilities. To this famous prince, priest, and prophet, the city of Bath owes its original. The chief seat of Apollo must of course become the chief seat of his priests, and the city of Bath must have been the metropolitan seat of the British Druids, whose university having been founded by king Bladud, the building so far exists within eight miles of our hot fountains, as to prove the work to have been a stupendous figure of the Pythagorean system of the planetary world." The author then gravely states, that Bath, like Alexandria, consisted of three principal parts, one at the hot springs, one at Stanton Drew, and another at Olkey, forming a triangle whose base was 15 miles, consequently the magnitude of Bath could not be less than that of Babylon when taken by Cyrus!

² Although this city has had various appellations in different ages, yet they appear to have had one common origin and import; its British historians, who adopt the legend of king Bladud, assert that it was called *Caer-Palladur*, *Caer-Badon*, *Caer-Blatin*, *Caer-Crum*, *Caer yn amant twynyn*; the Romans denominated it *T'bara Suppa* (hot water), *Badi'za*, *Aqua Solis*, and *Fons Caldi*; the Saxons, *Acemannes-ceastre*, *Acemanes-ceastre*, *Acemanes-berl*, *Hat-bæthūm*, *Bæthan-cæster*, &c.; in monkish latin we find *Achamannum*, *Therma*, *Bathonia*, *Badonia*, *Badonæ*, *Balnos*, &c. the latter seem all to be derived from *Baðu*, deep, in allusion to its situation.

(a)

such hardy and robust persons would naturally scorn the effeminate luxury of hot baths, that the discovery of the springs must be ascribed to Claudius or his physician Scribonius, and that the first buildings on the present site of Bath commenced about the year of our lord 44. The place was then denominated *Ῥάτα θέρμα*. During the government of the emperor Septimus Severus, about A. D. 208, according to Musgrave, the emperor appointed his younger son Geta to be governor of South Britian, while Caracalla (supposed by Dr. Gale to be the same as Antoninus), accompanied the emperor in his expedition against the Caledonians. Geta is represented as spending much of his time at the hot springs, which then received the appellation of *Aquæ Solis*, or waters of the sun, and were solemnly dedicated to Apollo Medicus, the deity who was supposed to impart medical virtues to waters and plants. A magnificent bronze statue (the head of which still exists) was then erected to this god. The worship of sol probably began either in the reign of Caracalla or of his son Heliogabalus, who was priest of the sun, and received his name from having borne that sacred office. From this zeal in idolatry it is to be presumed that a corresponding sentiment also existed with respect to christianity, and although no authentic records remain of any British or Roman religious establishment in Bath prior to the domination of the Saxons, it is scarcely credible that the people were wholly ignorant of revelation till the mission of Augustin.

"The observance," says Warner, "of ridiculous ceremonies and non-sensical rites", the profession of unintelligible points of faith, and an unlimited submission to their priesthood, were the chief articles to be insisted on by Augustin and his companions from their Saxon converts; whilst the new religion was to be accommodated in some measure to the former superstitions, by permitting the heathen temples to be used as christian churches, by adapting their ceremonies as nearly as possible to their ancient worship, and by slaughtering on certain festivals the same sacrifices (as Gregory expresses it) to the glory of God, as were formerly immolated to the honour of the devil. In consequence of those instructions the pagan images were displaced, and the temples resounded with what were then denominated the doctrines of christianity. Bath, amongst other places, received the missionaries of Rome, and a christian church rose out of the falling fame that had been hitherto dedicated to Minerva. The practise of founding monasteries had

³ It must be remembered, however, that by far the greater part of them were devised some centuries subsequent to the age of Augustin, and that the most pernicious and infamous of these rites (auricular confession) is the work of the 13th century, not to speak of the modern invention of the inquisition.

already been adopted on the continent to a most 'pernicious extent', a mode of being *pious by proxy*, which the church of Rome warmly encouraged, as it tended to increase the power, as well as the riches, of that imperious see. The ruffian of the middle ages, whose hands were yet reeking from the field of slaughter, was taught to believe that he might atone for all his cruelties, and purchase not only the pardon but the favour of his Maker, by applying some small portion of his ill-acquired wealth in building a religious house, and immuring within it a certain number of unhappy beings, whose masses and orisons would be *put to the credit side of his own account* with the deity, and save him the trouble of irksome prayer or the pain of practical piety. Osric king of the Huicci, one of the warlike Saxon chieftains of the 7th century, founded (with the consent of Kentwin king of Wessex) an institution of this kind at Bath, in the year of our Lord 676, granting to a female of the name of Bretana, one hundred *manentes*⁴, in the neighbourhood of the city, to assist in the erection of a convent for a certain number of nuns. The pious deed is said, in the grant⁵, to be performed for the redemption of his soul, and the atonement of his sins, and was doubtless considered by the founder, in the spirit of the times, as a sufficient expiation for all the acts of violence which he had already committed, or might hereafter be guilty of."

Osric's grant for the erection of a religious establishment at *Hat Bathun* was signed by Ethelred king of Mercia, archbishop Theodore, and five other bishops. Not long after Withard granted to abess Bernguidi, "40 villains and their lands in Slepī." Athelstan granted, in 931, to St. Peter and the venerable family inhabiting the convent dedicated to him in Bath, a charter conveying fifteen small estates or mansions at Priston and Asetun (Batheaston), in the neighbourhood

⁴ There is as much declamation as historical accuracy or philosophical discrimination in this view of the state of religion in the seventh century. It is a gross abuse of terms to confound the religious establishments of the Saxons with modern monasteries and nunneries; the former were bound by no unnatural vows, followed no superstitious orders, obeyed no laws but those of reason, morality, and piety, worshipped no images, made no ridiculous processions, had no gods but the creator of the universe, both males and females lived under the same roof in apostolic community, and were really schools of learning, industry, virtue, and piety. These are historical facts; let us view them philosophically, and consider the state of society in those ages of incessant war, and then ask ourselves, could either religion or learning have been supported or propagated in such times without the political strength and power of self-defence, possessed by congregated bodies in cenobitic establishments? When all the men were soldiers and the women occupied in cultivating the soil, it is not to be supposed that isolated individuals could safely teach either religion or literature. Nay, even in the present age, we find that the protestant missionaries are obliged to live together in precisely the same manner as the Saxon religious did about the period above mentioned.

⁵ The *Jugentes* of Tacitus, who inhabited Worcester, Warwick, and the north of Gloucester. *Beck.*

⁶ "These were tenants of the prince, and included their families, chattels, and the lands which they tilled."

⁷ "Osric rex pro remedio anime mee et indulgentia peccatorum meorum hoc privilegium impende ad laudem nominis domini nri. decrevera. id. e. Bertane abbatisse que pro xiana devotione et pro spe etne beatitudinis dei famula."

of the city, on the condition that the religious family were daily to offer masses for the king's safety, and with "their sacred strains" to counteract the deadly influence of his spiritual foes." To these possessions the unfortunate and barbarously treated king Edwy added, in 956, thirty mansions or estates at Dyddenham (out of which abbot Wlfgar was to have three cottages and their lands for his own private use), and in the following year gave ten estates at Bathford. In 965 king Edgar gave to the monastery of Bath an estate at Stanton. "But notwithstanding this mark of favour from the prince to its inhabitants, they soon had reason to withhold the sentiments of gratitude which it had awakened in them, since a revolution fatal to their interests was brought about by his exertions in 970." Hitherto the religious houses were chiefly filled with secular clergy, who were permitted to obey the laws of God, to marry, and mix in the commerce of active life. This system was too natural and rational for the ambitious tyranny of the popes, and the fanaticism of aspiring monks. The unprincipled and abandoned Edgar soon lent himself to the measures suggested by those who pardoned his almost incredible crimes, and he became the passive instrument of the "three ecclesiastical firebrands, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwald," in robbing all the secular clergy to endow a new and distinct order of men, solemnly sworn to answer all the purposes of their master, the pope or his agents. The abbey of Bath was among the first to experience their power, and in the language of this ruthless monarch, "the abominable wretches who kept wives" were disinherited and expelled, and their property given to twenty Benedictine monks. Elphage, a native of Weston, near Bath, whom monkish writers have since elevated to the rank of one of their gods, was the first abbot of Edgar's Benedictines. So far as the practice of preposterous austerities and the observance of mere externals are to be considered, the monkish praises of Elphage may be merited; but whoever takes an extended view of human nature will discover, that it is much more difficult and more uncommon to pursue the right line of true christian virtue and piety, than to perform all the monkish mortifications and austerities, which are much less incompatible with a high degree of sensuality than is generally supposed. As to the silly miracles ascribed to this abbot, it would be a libel even on his memory to record them⁸. His industry, however, may be advantageously contemplated, as he abandoned the idle monks of Deerhurst, came to Bath, displayed his austerities, collected money, built "a very large house for his disci-

⁸ This monarch seems to have been particularly partial to psalmody, as in Spelman's *Concilia*, we find at the council of Gratantia, held 928, the 12th canon ordains that fifty psalms should be sung for the king every Friday, in every monastery and cathedral church.

⁹ Those who can be amused with such impious fables may consult *Anglia Sacra*

ples," who, as might be expected, "indulged themselves by night in eating, drinking, and other disorders!" In 972 Edgar gave the estate of Corston to the abbey, and the following year "received here his crown from Dunstan, who had sentenced him to go seven years without it, as a penance for his lawless debaucheries and violation of nuns. Edgar granted some privileges to the citizens of Bath on this occasion, which, according to Leland, who visited them in the early part of the 16th century, they annually commemorated; "they pray on all their ceremonies for his soule, and at Whitsonday tide, at the whych time men say that Edgar ther was crownid, ther is a king elected at Bath every yere of the townes men, in the joyful remembrance of king Edgar, and the privileges gyven to the town by him. This king is festid, and his adherentes, by the richest man of the towne."

Ethelred II. was also a benefactor to the abbey, granting it some property at Weston in 984, when Elphage became bishop of Winchester, and Ulward succeeded him as abbot. The same king also bequeathed it lands at Freshford. After the massacre of the Danes, Sueno visited this unfortunate island with all the fury of justly awakened vengeance, and in 1013 desolated Bath and all the south-west parts of the country. It does not appear that Edward the confessor, "a negative character, rather displaying the absence of every warm and natural emotion of the human heart, than exhibiting any one active virtue or benevolent affection," evinced any partiality to this abbey", although he certainly ordered a survey and valuation of all the lands in the kingdom, which gave birth to the Domesday "book. Stigand, a favourite of the duke of Normandy, was the next abbot; he died abroad when accompanying that prince, and was succeeded by Wifold and Ælfsig, who appear together as first and second abbots. They granted leases and several manumissions of *villains* or slaves, of which the records still remain to illustrate the state of society in this country during the eleventh century, "when the lower classes of the people (like those of Russia at the present day) were the freehold property of the higher orders, and trans-

10 A. D. 973, hoc anno fuit Edgarus Anglorum gubernator, cum magno honore, in regem consecratus in veteri civitate *Acmannecastre*; incolæ vero alio vocabulo (*Bathon*) appellanti. *Sax. Chron.* "This is the first instance wherein we find Bath called by the very appropriate name *Acmannecstre*, or Sick-Man's City, a name by which many of the subsequent chroniclers and historians, for three centuries, chose to designate it." Warner's *Hist. of Bath*. The same cause has been assigned for the great Roman road from Oxfordshire to Bath being called *Akeman-street*. For the best analysis of Bath Waters, see that of Mr. R. Phillips, *Tilloch's Phil. Mag.* vol. 94, 1806.

11 Nevertheless, during part of the Confessor's reign, it was held by Editha, his amiable and unfortunate consort. *Lib. Dom. Exon. Hist. Somerset.* At this period it seems that Bath paid as *Danegelt*, or land-tax, about 2l. a year to the government.

12 According to this document, Bath abbey then held lands and property in Somersetshire, *Priston, Stanton, Wimedone, Watone, Foris, Cume, Cerlecume, Lincume, Estone, Hantone, Underiche, Corstune, Eoastic, and Eacwiche* (Ashwick); in Gloucestershire it possessed *Actune, Alverton, and Tideneham*, besides property in the city of Bath worth 40s., the whole estimated at upwards of 103l. a year, a sum equal to many thousands in the present age.

ferred by barter or sale from one master to another, in the same manner and with as little ceremony as any other species of possession."

We now approach the period when the abbey attained its episcopal honours. *Ælfsig* died in 1087, and in the following year John de Villula, bishop of Wells, obtained a grant (in pure and perpetual alms to augment the see of Somersetshire) of the abbey and whole city of Bath from the needy Rufus for 500 marks. This munificent prelate being bred a physician, very naturally selected Bath for his episcopal see. The city and abbey having suffered by fire¹³ in 1087, bishop Villula commenced their re-edification; and from the continuance of his buildings, which were not finished at his death in 1122, he has been generally reputed their founder. The abbey was repaired or rebuilt by Elphage about 1010, but whether any of his erections remain cannot now be ascertained, the east end being all that bears any vestiges of high antiquity. About 1106 Henry I. renewed and extended the grant of his predecessor to the bishop, who was thus enabled to endow still more liberally this cathedral and monastery. He new modelled the government of the establishment, substituting a prior for an abbot, and granted by charter¹⁴ several lands to him and his successors for ever. He also erected two new baths¹⁵ within the precincts of the priory, and built himself a noble palace on the west side of it. As usual,

¹³ The abbey was burnt by the insurrection of Robert de Mowbray.

¹⁴ This charter is curious: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I John, by the grace of God, bishop of Bath, to all bishops my successors, and to all sons of the holy church, greeting. Be it known unto you all, that for the honour of God and of St. Peter, I have laboured, and at length effected, with all decent authority, that the head and mother church of the bishopric of Somerset shall be in the city of Bath, in the church of St. Peter; to which holy apostle and to the monks, his servants, I have restored their lands, which I formerly held unjustly in my own hands, in as free and ample manner as *Alsius* the late abbot held them before me; and if I have improved them, and whatsoever of mine shall be found thereon, I give to their own use and property. I also give them for farther supply of their food and clothing, and to increase the convent of the holy brethren serving God there, and to reimburse the treasury what I took from the church, those lands which I have acquired by my own travail, or bought with my money: to wit, those five hides in Weston which I purchased of *Patricius de Caurcia*, and the land of *Hugh* with the beard, to wit, *Claferton*, *Doerne*, *Mersfield*, and *Eaton*, together with *Herley* and *Arnemude* on the sea-coast, and whatsoever belongs to them, and one house in Bath, and one other house in *Winchester*. But as to the city of Bath, which first of all king *William*, and after him his brother king *Henry*, gave to St. Peter for their alms, I have, pursuant to my vows, determined that all issues and profits arising from it be laid out in perfecting the work I have begun. Besides, what I have acquired in church ornaments, in copes, palls, curtains, dorsals, tapestry, crucifixes, robes, chalices, and in phylacteries; and whatsoever of my own I have added in the episcopal chapel, my whole armory, my clothes, bowls, plate, and all my household furniture, I give to St. Peter and his monks for ever to their own use and property, for the remission of my sins. Whoever therefore shall infringe on this my gift, may the curse of God and of his holy apostles and saints light on him, and by the authority of me, though a sinner, let him be accursed and for ever cut off from the community of the church. Done A. D. 1106, in the reign of *Henry*, son of *William* duke of Normandy and king of England, *Anselm* being archbishop; of my ordination the 19th, and of the induction the 12th. And that this my deed may remain more firm and unshaken, I have, with my own hand signed it with the sign of the holy X." Wood's Essay, vol. i.

¹⁵ One of those was called the Abbot's Bath, and devoted to the use of the public; the other was appropriated to the prior. The king's bath supplied the former with water, the latter had a spring of its own. These baths continued in existence till the middle of the 16th century, but in the 17th an unsuccessful attempt was made to discover the prior's spring. Warner.

his example was followed by multitudes of devotees, who were emulous in bestowing their fortunes on this priory, in consequence of which it soon acquired immense wealth and influence, being amply supplied with sacred relics¹⁶. These however were always incombustible and indestructible, so that the fire which destroyed or damaged the buildings in 1137 had no effect on them. The injury sustained by this catastrophe was soon removed, and the convent and church were repaired and improved by bishop Robert, who at the same time endowed it with the manor of Southstoke. This grant and several others were confirmed by archbishop Theobald in 1140. Hitherto the bishops, it appears, had officiated as priors by deputy or appointed sub-priors, but in 1159 Peter was raised to this dignity. His successor Walter, sub-prior of Hyde, about 1178, associated the apostle St. Paul with St. Peter in the tutelage of the priory and church, which henceforth bore the names of those apostles. Walter's zeal and enthusiasm however greatly exceeded his resolution and piety: he began to fancy that his situation was too luxurious, that it was incompatible with the mortification and humility indispensably necessary to a christian, he abdicated the prior's chair and became a Carthusian monk. But his self-denial was only imaginary; "he quickly grew tired of his new situation, again sighed after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and quitted the austerities of his Carthusian friends for the comforts and enjoyments of the priory of Bath," where he presided till 1198, when he died on a visit at Wherwell. Gilbert, his immediate successor, has left nothing but a nominal record of his existence; but Robert, who was also abbot of Glastonbury, experienced a more bustling life; having quarrelled with the ambitious and refractory monks of that establishment, a separation of those two houses took place, and he returned to his priory in Bath, where he passed the remainder of his days. At this period (1225) the city of Bath (although transferred by its bishop to Richard I. in 1193) was still in the hands of the prior, who farmed it at the yearly rent of 30*l*. during the king's¹⁷ pleasure. Edward I. in 1304, granted the priory

16 Among these may be mentioned, the bones of St. Peter, part of our Lord's garment, the heads of Sts. Bartholomew, Lawrence, and Pancras; the knee of Maurice, the ribs of St. Barnabas, arm of St. Simeon, part of the cross and napkin, Christ's vest, sandals, and the clean cloth in which his body was wrapped; the hair and milk of the Virgin Mary, fragments of her dress, part of the pillar to which Christ was bound, parts of St. Andrew's cross and our Lord's sepulchre, some of St. John Baptist's blood, ashes of the apostle John, clothes of St. James, relics of Sts. Lazarus, Clement, Samson, Martin, Ribert, Dionysius, Maurice, Benedict, Gregory, Swithun, Byrinus, Byrstan, Ethelwold, Grumbald, Remigius, Elphege, &c. Saintesses Margaret, Juliann, Barbara, &c. and "many other articles," observes Warner, "equally valuable and useful."

17 King John founded a Benedictine priory at Waterford and another at Cork, in Ireland, and annexed them to that of Bath, in order that the monks and nuns might be decently clothed and enabled to maintain hospitality. This soon proved to be a most troublesome donation. The same monarch also gave to Bath priory his estate at Berthon, near the city, with a separate jurisdiction, in consideration of receiving 90*l*. At the same time he exempted the monks from the

liberty to hold two fairs, one at Lynchcomb and the other at Barton; the former was held on the vigil and festival of finding the cross¹⁸, 2d and 3d of May, and the latter on the vigil and feast of St. Lawrence, the 9th and 10th of August. The selection of those occasions being evidently to profit by the superstitious assemblage of the people, and thereby augment the tolls and customs, it not unfrequently happened that the anniversaries of such deities, of papal erection, were celebrated in a manner no little congenial by "foul riot and misrule." These fairs, however, had become more necessary, as the Statute of Mortmain, prohibiting the alienation of property to the clergy or monasteries, which passed in 1279, had produced some obstruction to the rapacity of the monks, who had not yet devised the best means of eluding it. But it was not till the priorship of Robert de Cloppecote that the decay of the priory commenced. This prior, either from extreme avarice or incapacity, or perhaps both, suffered the church and abbey buildings to go to ruin, and even starved the monks, giving them inferior and inadequate food, till bishop Drogenford redressed their grievances. Yet, of all the monks in the kingdom, it appears that those of Bath were most meritorious, that they led lives of industry and inoffensiveness. "It is to be recorded to their honours," observes one of their severest censors, "that they form a notable exception to that general character of indolence and inutility which so deservedly attaches to most of their brethren of the cowl. As if aware of the eternal truth, that no life can be pleasing to God which is not beneficial to man, they blended the cultivation of the necessary arts with the regular observance of devotional exercises. The shuttle and loom employed their attention; and, under their active auspices, the weaving of woollen cloth (which made its first appearance in England about 1330, and received the sanction of an act of parliament in 1337), was introduced, established, and brought to such perfection at Bath, as rendered this city one of the most considerable in the west of England for this manufacture." According to Leland and Wood, a shuttle, the emblem of the art, was incorporated into the arms of the monastery, and existed last century on the front of the abbey house, as a memorandum of the laudable and singular industry of the monks. As to their zeal in compelling Mrs. Agnes Cole to recant publicly some injurious remarks which she had passed on them in 1459; it has certainly been censured

payment of toll at Bristol, and united with them the dean and canon of Wells in the enjoyment of many privileges, such as having toll, *theame* (a right of taking and keeping bondmen, villains, and slaves, with their families, as mercantile property), and *infangentheef* (liberty to adjudge a thief taken in the jurisdiction), on all their property, together with the ordeals of water and fire, exemption from all suits, local jurisdictions, &c.

¹⁸ This notable discovery was made by St. Helena, virgin and queen, A. D. 326 or 327. The bishop of Coventry and Lichfield is the only ecclesiastical witness to Edward's charter.

(h)

with unmerited asperity. There is no species of illiberality more gross or more common than that of reviling people for being ignorant of what was only partially discovered some centuries later. It is equally uncandid and unjust to arraign the monks of bad designs, of a desire to "forge fetters for the minds and understandings of the laity," merely because they were anxious to support those principles and ceremonies which they undoubtedly believed necessary to the well being of society, but which succeeding ages have proved to be superstitious and foolish. They did not, like most other monks, practise any ferocious cruelties from which nature revolts; they betrayed no extraordinary ambition, left no grounds for accusing them of hypocrisy; and their errors claim our pity, while their virtuous industry commands our respect. In the fulness of time, however, they sunk into the indolence and sensuality which ultimately awaits the monastic life; and when bishop King (who was translated from Exeter to Bath in 1495) came to the see, he found the cathedral and abbey buildings in a state of utter decay, while sixteen monks and their prior were revelling on an income of 480*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* a year. This worthy prelate, who was architect of the present edifice, assigned the prior 80 marks, and the monks 80*l.* and 30*l.* for servants' wages and repairing the estates belonging to the monastery; the remainder he appropriated to the re-edification of the cathedral. The bishop found an able assistant in prior Bird. Of this building, a committee of the Society of Antiquaries gives the following historical sketch, which is chiefly copied, even to the very words, from the History of Somersetshire, by Mr. Collinson:—

"Bishop Oliver King, who was principal secretary to Edward IV. and V. and Henry VII. in consequence of a vision¹⁹ which he beheld, resolved to rebuild the church of St. Peter in the most correct manner, and with a magnificence becoming the greatest prince; but he did not live to see the work perfected, though he pursued it with all the activity in his power, and declared his disregard of any extraordinary expense, so that he could see it finished; he died before the south and west parts of the building were covered in, and before even all the walls were raised to their proper heights. The priors of Bath carried on the work of the church after this bishop's death in 1502; they, in about thirty years, completed it, though not in that elegant manner

19 Sir John Harrington gives the following account of this vision:—"The bishop having been at Bath, imagined, as he one night lay meditating in bed, that he saw the Holy Trinity, with angels, ascending and descending by a ladder, near to which there was a fair *olive* tree, supporting a crown; the impression was so strong, that the bishop thought he heard a voice, which said, 'Let an *Olive* establish the crown, and let a *King* restore the church.' This had such an effect on the good prelate, that he instantly formed a design to rebuild the church of St. Peter, set the work immediately in hand, and (as sir John Harrington concludes) caused his vision to be represented on the outside of it, under the title of *De sacrum est*, it is from on high." Fuller relates some other particulars:—"It was begun," observes this worthy histo-

intended by the founder. Prior Bird, who first engaged in the work, expended on it so much money as to impoverish him, and he died very poor: his successor, prior Gibbs, alias Holeway, spent likewise a great sum in perfecting the fabric, which was scarcely finished before he, with John Pitt, sub-prior, Thomas Bathe, canon, and fourteen others, subscribed to the supremacy on the 22d September, 1534; and on the 27th of January, 1539, prior Holeway²⁰ divested himself of the whole monastery, by surrendering it to the crown. After this the king's commissioners made an offer of St. Peter's church to the city of Bath for 500 marks, which they refused; whereupon certain merchants bought all the glass, iron, and lead of the fabric, and so left nothing but the skeleton remaining, which, with the monastery, were sold to Humphrey Colles, in 1542; the year after which, an act of parliament passed for the dean and chapter of Wells to make one sole chapter for the bishop. The site of the monastery was soon afterwards sold by H. Colles to Matthew Coulthurst, whose son Edmund made a pre-

rian, "by Oliver King, bishop of this diocese, in the reign of Henry VII. and the west end most curiously cut and carved with angels climbing up a ladder to heaven; but this bishop died before the finishing thereof. His death obstructed this structure, so that it stood a long time neglected, and gave occasion for one or two to write on the church-walls, with charcoal,

'O church, I wail thy woful plight!

Whom King, nor Cardinal, Clark, nor Knight,

Have yet restor'd to antient right.'

Alluding herein to bishop King, who began it, and his four successors in thirty-five years, viz. cardinals Adrian and Wolsey, bishops Clark and Knight, contributing nothing to the effectual finishing thereof. The decay and almost ruin thereof followed, when it felt in part the hammers which knocked down all abbeys. True it is, the commissioners proffered to sell the church to the townsmen under 500 marks. But the townsmen, fearing if they bought it so cheap, to be thought to cozen the king, so that the purchase might come under the compass of concealed lands, refused the proffer. Hereupon the glass, iron, bells, and lead (which last amounted to 480 tons), provided for the finishing thereof, were sold, and sent over beyond the seas, if a shipwreck (as some report) met them not on the way. For the repairing thereof, collections were made all over the land in the reign of queen Elizabeth, though inconsiderable either in themselves or through the corruption of others. Only honest Mr. Billet (whom I take to be the same with him who was designed executor of William Cecil lord Burleigh), disbursed good sums to the repairing thereof. (The great east window is a memorial of him, the glass being painted chequer or Billet-wise, in allusion to his name.) A stranger, under a feigned name, took the confidence thus to play the poet and prophet on this structure:—

'Be bilithe, fair kirk—when Hempe is past,

Thine *Olise*, that ill winds did blast,

Shall flourish green for age to last.'

Cassidore.

By Hempe understand Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, king Phillip, and queen Elizabeth. The author, I suspect, having a *tang of the oak*, and being parcel popish, expected the finishing of this church at the return of their religion; but his prediction was verified in another sense, when this church was finished by bishop Montague, who, by his mines at Myndep, did but remove the lead from the bowels of the earth to the roof of the church, wherein he lies interred in a fair monument.—*Worthies of Somerset.*

20 At the dissolution, when the establishment had existed 865 years, the neat revenue of the abbey was 617l. 2s. 3d. a year. Here, however, as elsewhere, the monks were very handsomely provided for by annuities: prior Holloway was allowed 80l. besides houses and perquisites from the bath; sub-prior John Pitt, 9l. Richard Griffith (prior of the cell of Dunster), Thomas Bathe, Nicholas Bathe, 8l. each; Alexander Bristow, J. Beckington, 6l. 13s. 4d. Richard Lincoln, J. Arieson, Thomas Powell, J. Browne, Richard Bygge, 6l. Richard Gilles, Thomas Worcester, William Clement, J. Edgar, Edward Edwaye, Patrick Vertue, J. Hamlylte, J. Gabriel, William Bowaclyn, J. Bennet, J. Style, Patrick Archer, Thomas Stylbond, J. Barnett, J. Bentham, 5l. 6s. 8d. Thomas Powell, 5l. James Pacyenoe, J. Long, 4l. 13s. 4d.—*Wille's Altered Abbies.*

(k)

sent of the carcase of the church to the mayor and citizens of Bath, for their parochial church; the rest of the monastic buildings he sold to Falk Morley, 1569, from whose descendants they came to the duke of Kingston. Of these no remains at present exist. Mr. Peter Chapman was the first person who began to repair the abbey church about 1572, at the east end, so as to secure it from the inclemency of the weather. Queen Elizabeth enabled the citizens to raise money to restore it; and Thomas earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain to her majesty, set on foot a subscription towards completing the building; he was followed by Walter Callcut, of Williamscombe, in Oxfordshire. Afterwards the repairs ceased, until William lord Burleigh, lord high treasurer to queen Elizabeth, and Thomas Bellot, esq. steward to her household, revived it; they completed the choir for divine service, previous to which the church was consecrated and dedicated to the names of St. Peter and St. Paul. Afterwards, the side aisles of the choir and the transepts were repaired by various persons. The west part of the nave was uncovered in 1609, when doctor James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells (afterwards bishop of Winchester), set the example of repairing this part, and was followed by divers noblemen and gentlemen; sir Henry Montague, knt. lord chief justice of the king's bench, brother to the munificent bishop, beautified the great west door; and sir Nicholas Salterns, knt. of London, built the vestry. Thus, by the assistance of these benefactors, the church was restored to what we now behold it. The buildings of the monastery extended over a large space of ground: they consisted of the church, cloisters, chapter-house, prior's house, monks' lodgings, and dormitory, built by bishop Beckington. The prior's house, with some of the apartments of the monks, stood on the south side of the conventual church. Soon after the dissolution it was repaired, and again made habitable; some parts, however, of the old house were left in their pristine state, and were never occupied after their being taken from the monks. On pulling down part of these buildings, in the beginning of the last century, one of the apartments, which had been walled up and never explored, discovered a very curious and interesting sight: round the walls, upon pegs, were hung copes, albs, chesibles, and other garments of the religious, which, on the admission of the air, became so rotten as to crumble into powder. There was also found the handle of a crosier; and on the floor lay two large chests without any contents, as it was alleged by the workmen; one of whom, however, grew rich upon the occasion, and retired from business."

But the architecture of this cathedral is particularly interesting, as being one of the last ecclesiastical edifices raised in this country in the

pointed style, and just before the general introduction of the more monotonous Grecian architecture. It has also some advantages over the king's college chapel in Cambridge, and Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster, which were erected about the same period. Its ornaments in particular are singularly appropriate and congruous with a religious structure. The noble west front is very little disfigured by preposterous heraldic monsters, like those in king's chapel at Cambridge; nor by repeated portcullises or other horrid implements of war, like as in Westminster; even the very worst representation of angels is incomparably superior to the emblems of human vanity or of sanguinary vengeance. It has, however, been minutely described by the Society of Antiquaries²¹.

21 "The grand entrance in the centre (speaking of the west front) is filled with a rich ornamented door, given in 1617 by sir Henry Montague, brother to the bishop; it is charged with the arms of the see, impaling those of Montague, and round the shield is the device of the order of the garter, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. In two other shields are the arms of Montague only; under the two upper shields, on a label, is this inscription, *Eccce quam bonum et quam jucundum*, &c. Above the shields is a profile helmet, with a crest of a griffin's head; behind is hung a flowing mantle, and at the bottom of the door are two ornamented bosses. This design strongly marks the decorative taste of the above date. The architrave round the entrance is composed of a number of mouldings, and a sub-architrave diverges from it, and forms a square head over the arch; the spandrels of the arch are filled with labels inclosing wounded hearts, crowns of thorns, and wounded hands and feet, figurative of the (alleged) five wounds of our Saviour. On each side there are rich canopied niches, inclosing the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, the apostolic patrons of the church; they stand on brackets. On that under St. Peter is the blended white and red rose and a crown, and on the corresponding bracket, under St. Paul, is the portcullis, with a crown likewise; the attributes of the two saints are partly destroyed. A very small cornice runs over the head of the arch, supporting an elegant open battlement, which is divided in the centre by a niche, once filled, it may be supposed, by a statue of Henry VII. as his arms and supporters remain perfect at the bottom of it. The lower parts of the first division over the impost to the turrets, which are of square forms, have simple narrow openings to light the staircases within them. On the upper begins the representation of the bishop's vision: here the ladders take their rise from a kind of undulating line, expressive of the surface of the ground, and here the angels begin their ascension, though much damaged. On each side of the ladders are remains of figures which have some distant resemblance to shepherds; over them are labels, the inscriptions on which are not legible; other openings for light appear under the rounds of the ladders. The second divisions take octangular forms, and on their fronts is seen the continuation of the ladders and the angels. On the tops of the ladders are the busts of two saints, each holding a book. On each side of the front cant of the turrets are three tiers of statues, standing on pedestals, and finishing with pinnaced canopies; they represent the twelve apostles, among which St. John and St. Andrew are conspicuous. The third divisions are filled with compartments, as are the battlements to them, and finish with open spires. The west window is of extreme richness; it consists of two sub-arches, and a large division between them, each sub-arch having three divisions, which are likewise seen in the heads of the sub-arches; the spandrels between the heads and the large division in the centre have each three divisions; the heights from the bottom of the window to the springing of the arch have also three divisions; in the heads of the sub-arch three divisions, and the large division in the centre has also three divisions. The curious observer must at leisure follow, in the more minute parts, this mystic architectural design. In the centre of the tracery, near the head of the window, is an angel issuing from a cloud, bearing a shield, once charged, it may be presumed, with the arms of the see; an architrave forms the whole line of the window, and its arched head is bounded by a sub-architrave, beginning with the springing of the arch. The spandrels of this arch are filled with an angelic choir, who, in attitudes of adoration, are chanting forth the praises of the Holy Trinity, which was once more conspicuous in the fine niche in the centre of the battlements; there now only remains of it the statue of the Father, whose feet rest on a bracket. Below this bracket are two shields charged with the arms of the see, surmounted by the supporters to the arms of Henry VII. which supporters hold the united white and red roses, surmounted with a crown. Among the angels appear two shields of arms, now so nearly effaced as not to be distinguished by the naked eye from below, but a telescope shews them to be charged with two bands, dexter embattled and counter embattled, and surmounted by a cardinal's hat. This bear-

The interior is equal in elegance to the west front. The cieling of the nave, which is flatter than that of the choir, and which being thirty feet ten inches wide with an elevation of only three feet in the centre, forms a kind of elliptic arch, most probably the work of the munificent bishop Montague". The nave and choir are separated from their aisles "by clustered pillars. The ribs composing the tracery of the cieling are the only solid parts, the intermediate spaces being originally open, but were filled up with lath and plaster. The groining of the choir is loftier and forms a sharper arch than that of the nave. The

ing is probably that of cardinal Adrian di Castello, of whom B. Willis (History of Cathedrals, i. 519) says, 'Adrian di Castello, bishop of Hereford in 1503, and two years after translated to Bath and Wells, bestowed much money in vaulting the choir of Bath, as may be seen by his arms 'under a cardinal's hat, on the roof on each side of the choir.' The coat as above described, but without the hat, and with three bandlets instead of two, is now visible in the centre of the second division of the vault of the choir. The upper part of the shields in the west front is so decayed as to render it possible that a third bandlet formerly existed in them, and that the bearing is the same as that in the choir; if so, it proves that this front was only completed in the reign of Castello. The cornice above the spandrels is pedimental, as are the lines of the battlements; the latter are wrought with open tracery of the same elegant work as those below.

"We will now particularise the buttresses on each side of the aisle windows. They are ornamented with rolls containing inscriptions not legible, but are said to contain the following allegorical allusion to the founder's name, taken out of the book of Judges, chap. ix. ver. 8. *Jerant ligna ut auferant artem—Diseruntque Olive imperu nobis.* 'Trees, going to choose their king—Said, be to us the Oliver king.' Over the rolls are small arched heads, and on their points are the supporters of the arms of Henry VII. bearing on their heads the regal crown, from the rays of which spring olive-trees, in allusion to the name of the bishop and his vision; over them are bishops' mitres. Here the small arched heads occur again. Still higher are small shields despoiled of their arms. Here the small arched head is introduced a third time, and, as at this part of the battress the square of it is seen complete, this arched head is repeated on each square, finishing with open spires corresponding with those of the turrets. The small entrances to the side aisles are in unison, as well as the enrichments of the five wounds of our Saviour on the spandrel, with the centre entrance. The windows have a resemblance to the great one, and on the mullions of each is a statue; that on the left is designed for our Saviour, who is pointing to the wound in his side with his one hand, and with the other holding some deeds with seals appendant; probably signifying that through his merits the bounty of the righteous in gifts of lands was applied towards rebuilding of the church". The statue on the right hand is that of the king, holding a bag of money, as appropriating it to the same holy purpose. These statues stand on pedestals, on the front of which are shields, whereon are just discernible the arms of the see, &c. over their heads are canopies finishing with shields; on that over our Saviour is a griffin. On each side of the arch of the windows are placed small brackets for statues, and over the points of the window heads are inscriptions very perfect; over the left is *Domus Mea*, over the right *Domus Oratorum*. The title of the whole design of the work on this front, as describing the vision, *De sursum est*, is now no where to be perceived. The cornices above these windows take, like that over the centre part of the building, a pedimental direction, and unite with those on the turrets, as do likewise the open battlements in these parts, which, though of more simple workmanship than those in the centre part, are still replete with beauty." *Account of the Abbey Church of Bath*, p. 7.

22 This prelate's arms with those of Bath appear in the cieling; but when the cathedral was constructed it did not belong to the city.

23 On the south side of the south aisle is a vestry (which, though attached to the church, is in St. James's parish), with a small library, began by bishop Lake, and afterwards augmented by several other benefactors. It contains Walton's Polyglot Bible. In the window over the entrance are the arms of the merchant-tailors' company, with an inscription, saying, "This window was repaired and continually kept by the Taylors, 1641."

"This," justly observes Mr. Warner, "seems to be an unnecessary refinement, and attributes to the architect an idea that probably never entered into his head. The two figures are only sculptural representations of the great benefactors to Bath and its monastery, Offa and Edgar. That on the right hand is Offa, in the succinct garb of the soldier, with a bag of money in his hand, who, having taken the city, restored the monastery founded by Osric, and enriched it with new donations. The other represents Edgar, with the charter in his hand, which he conferred on his favourite city of Bath."

tower deviates so much from a square as to arrest attention ; but it is singularly elegant and light ; the whole building indeed is so remarkable in this respect, that it has been denominated *the lantern of England*, having fifty-two windows, many of them of considerable dimensions. The choir however is devoid of those curious works of art which decorate most other cathedrals, such as stalls, &c. and is fitted up merely like a common parish church, with the addition only of an episcopal throne. Prayers are read in it twice every day ; but should good sense and sound policy ever unite with a little rational piety, the city will either establish the usual cathedral service here or resign its patronage to those who would introduce that impressive and pleasing worship, to console the minds and spirits of the numerous invalids who annually visit Bath, and who really want such necessary consolation. It does indeed appear almost incredible that such a measure has not been already adopted in this populous city ; where piety is weak policy is generally strong, and both equally support its adoption. The introduction of choir service would require no expensive alterations in the building ; the choir is now separated from the nave by a wooden screen supported by stone pillars, over which is an organ of most exquisite tone. The altar-piece, representing the wise men's offering, was given by general Wade. The elegant chantry of prior Bird, somewhat similar to, but more elegant than that of Henry IV. in Canterbury, consists of two arched divisions, impost, embattled, and octangular buttresses, all finely decorated with fanciful tracery and ornaments. Unfortunately this delightful little structure has been impaired in order to make room for the clumsy erection designed for the bishop's throne.

The monuments, which abound in all parts of this sacred edifice, have justly attracted general attention, and a kind of traditional celebrity has been acquired by the sculptor's art and muse's praise. It would indeed have been as becoming had reason always prevailed over feeling in these mortuary records, and urnal tablets to infants given place to the monuments of divines, philosophers, statesmen, or heroes. The altar-tomb, which commemorates the beneficent bishop Montague (who gave 1000*l.* towards roofing the church), justly claims the first consideration. It contains an effigy of the prelate in his pontificals ; but it is to be regretted that the Grecian instead of the pointed style of architecture should have been adopted. The Latin inscription is equally remarkable for its modest simplicity and veracity. The next monument which awakens emotion, according to the predisposition of the spectator, is that of the well-known sir William Waller, in the south end of the transept. The design is trite, a knight in armour reclining on his arm under corinthian pillars. " There is a tradition," says Warner, " that

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king James II. passing through the church, and casting his eye on Waller's obnoxious effigy, instantly drew his sword, and, with an air of wanton despite, hacked off the poor knight's nose, in which mutilated state his face still continues, a testimony of that act of heroism. An instance also of James's bigotry, as well as of his impotent vengeance displayed in the abbey church, is preserved to us. Shortly after his accession to the crown he visited Bath, and, amongst his attendants, brought the famous father Huddleston, his confessor and friend. This friar, by James's order, went to the abbey church and exhibited on the altar the mummary²⁴ of the Romish ritual, closing the farce with a heavy denunciation of wrath against the heretics, and an exhortation to an immediate change from the errors of protestantism to the true faith, from which the country had apostatized. In the number of his auditors was Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, who had ever been a firm friend of the reformed church, and a defender²⁵ of its rights. Justly fired with indignation at this ill-judged display of blind zeal, the prelate, as soon as Huddleston concluded his discourse, mounted a stone pulpit which then stood in the body of the church, and desiring the congregation (who were retiring) to remain, he pronounced extempore a discourse in answer to Huddleston, exposing his fallacies and displaying the errors of his church and the absurdity of its doctrines, in a strain of such impressive eloquence as astonished and delighted his congregation, and completely confounded Huddleston and the royal bigot." Among the monuments in the south side of the cathedral, the following will attract particular attention: those to the memories of John Wall, D.D.; governor Pownall, a much better antiquary than politician; the mellifluent Melmoth, the amiable and elegant author of Fitzosborne's Letters, and the best classic translator of his age; Miss Sarah Fielding, the writer of David Simple, and sister of the celebrated H. Fielding; sir William Draper, the eloquent opponent of the nervous but caustic, malign, and ruthless writer under the

²⁴ To be convinced of the unchangeable and pestiferous nature of papal superstitions, the reader may consult Forsyth's "Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an excursion in Italy, in 1803 and 1805," 2d edition. This original writer has furnished some salutary facts in opposition to the apologetical praises of Eustace in behalf of brutalizing superstition.

²⁵ Such characters were necessary here, as it appears by the register of St. Peter and St. Paul's, which commenced in 1569, that in 1633, Theophilus Webbe, curate, "Edward Read, esq. now resident in Bath, by reason of his infirmity and sickness, hath (according to the statutes in this kind ordained) received a licence from his parochial minister for the moderate using of flesh for his health sake only; and continuing still in his infirmity and weakness, desiring (according to the statute) the registering of his licence, we, the minister and church-wardens, considering the justness of his desire, have registered it." This curious licence was again registered for the same causes, and also several others. This register likewise contains the induction of rectors, &c. In 1653, banns were published three times in this church, and the parties afterwards married by the mayor; in 1658, the pious Cromwellians had improved on this expedient by having the proposals of marriage proclaimed three market-days in the marketplace of Bath, and the parties afterwards were married by the mayor, Mr. John Parker.

signature of Junius. Whoever considers how much more difficult it is to defend than attack, cannot hesitate in allowing to this justly denominated "vir summis cum animi, tum corporis dotibus egregie ornatus," the meed of superior genius. H. Katencamp, esq. consul-general of the Two Sicilies, who died in 1807, is admirably commemorated by the chissel of Bacon, junior, in an elegant female figure leaning on an urn decorated with flowers, exquisitely executed. The tribute to lady Miller, whose Letters from Italy still amuse, must attract the sympathetic; nor can the obelisk and urn with a very fine infant figure and hour glass in high relief, most modestly inscribed to C. M. escape the observation of the tasteful inquirer, who will naturally contrast it with the tablet to Rebecca Leyborne, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Leyborne, whose panegyric on his deceased consort does honour to the affectionate husband. But the admirers of the fine arts will naturally turn to the monument of Mr. Walsh Porter, who contributed to methodize the public taste for paintings, while the naturalist will regard with rational respect the tablet to Dr. Sihthorpe. On every hand, indeed, the visitor will find something congenial which appeals to his feelings, his taste, or his reason. As to the dignified prelates who have filled this see, but few of them having been interred in Bath, their characters will be found either in the history of Wells or in the list of bishops appended to this history.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

External Length from west to east 335 feet; ditto from north to south, 139; according to William of Worcester's survey, temp. Henry VI. it was upwards of 300 feet long. *Internal Length*, 310; ditto of the transept, 122; of the nave, 133; of the choir, 74. *Breadth* of the nave and choir, with their aisles, 72 feet; of the transept, 22 feet. *Height* of the ceiling in the nave, 73; in the choir, 78; of the tower, 162 feet, which is 30 feet from north to south, and only 20 feet from west to east; it contains a peal of ten large bells.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1, Represents part of the North Transept, the Tower, with part of the Nave. On the left appears the Town Hall. The view is taken near the corner of Bond-street.

Plate 2, A distant View of the Cathedral, the East End, Transept, and Tower, as seen from the banks of the Avon.

Plate 3, Shews the whole West Front, richly ornamented. See note, 21, p. m.

Plate 4, A South-east View, in which are seen the Transept, the Tower, and Choir, with the elegant Fly Butments which support it.

Plate 5, The Interior of the South Aisle of the Choir, in which, on the left, is seen prior Bird's Chantry. At the extremity of the view above the window is a circular arch, the only one remaining of the ancient abbey buildings. In the fore-ground, under a Grecian canopy, is a large sarcophagus, containing the embalmed bodies of Thomas Lycheffeld, who was lutanist to queen Elizabeth, and of Margaret his wife; the bodies are enveloped with a kind of cere-cloth, and are withered almost to skeletons. Originally there was another sarcophagus above the present, containing the woman's body; but as it obstructed the light to the mayor's seat, it was removed about sixty years ago and laid with the man. See Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*.

Plate 6, The East End of the Cathedral, from Orange Grove.

Plate 7, A view from the great west door, shewing the Nave, the Organ, and Screen, with part of the Choir.

Plate 8, An Interior View of the South Transept, taken from the aisle of the nave; in the distance are seen the South Aisle of the Choir, and the Staircase leading to the gallery.

BATH AND WELLS.

<i>Of Wells.</i>		BISHOPS.		<i>Held in commendam Four Years by</i>	
Aldhelm	905	<i>Of Bath and Wells.</i>	Joceline Trotteman 1205	Cardinal Thomas Wolsey	
Wifeline		<i>See Vacant.</i>		John Clerk	1523
Elphege		Roger	1244	William Knight	1541
Wifhelm		William Bitton	1248	William Barlow	1547
Brithelm	958	Walter Giffard	1264	Gilbert Bourne	1554
Kineward	973	William Button	1267	Gilbert Berkeley	1559
Sigay	975	Robert Barnell	1274	Thomas Godwyn	1584
Alwyn		William de Marchia	1293	John Still	1592
Burwold	1000	Walter Haselshaw	1302	James Montagu	1608
Leoving	1006	John de Drokensford		Arthur Lake	1616
Ethelwin		Ralph de Salopia	1329	William Laud	1626
Brithwyn	1013	John Barnet	1363	Leonard Mawe	1628
<i>See Vacant.</i>		John Harewel	1366	Walter Curle	1629
Merewith	1027	Walter Skirlaw	1386	William Pierce	1632
Dudoca	1031	Ralph Erghum	1388	Robert Creighton	1670
Giso	1059	Henry Bowet	1401	Peter Mews	1672
<i>Of Bath.</i>		Nicholas Bubwith	1408	Thomas Kenn	1684
John de Villula (1)	1088	John Stafford	1425	Richard Kidder	1691
Godfrey (2)	1123	T. de Beckington	1443	George Hooper	1703
<i>Of Bath and Wells.</i>		John Phreas		John Wynne	1727
Robert	1135	Robert Stillington	1465	Edward Willes	1743
<i>See Vacant.</i>		Richard Fox	1491	Charles Moss	1774
Reginald Fitz-Joceline		Oliver King	1495	RICHARD BEADON	1802
<i>Of Glastonbury.</i>		Adrian de Castello	1504		
S. Barlowinwac	1192				
		ABBOTS.			
Elphege	970	Stigand	1067	Aelsig	1075
Sewold					
		PRIORS.			
Benedictus	1151	Thomas de Wynton	1289	John de Tellisford	1411
Peter	1159	Robert de Cloppecote	1301	William Southbruke	1425
Walter		Robert de Sutton	1332	Thomas de Lacock	1447
Gilbert	1198	Thomas Christy	1333	Richard	1476
Robert	1205	John de Irford	1340	John Cantlow	1489
Thomas	1223	John de Walecot		William Bird	1499
Walter	1261	John de Dunster	1406	William Holway	1525
		DEANS OF WELLS.			
Ivo	1150	John Fordham	1378	William Turner	1550
R. de Spakeston	1160	Thomas de Sudbury	1381	Robert Westan	1570
Alexander	1180	Nicholas Slake	1396	Valentine Dale	1574
Lionius	1205	Henry Beaufort	1397	John Herbert	1589
Ralp de Lechlade	1218	Thomas Tuttebury	1401	Benjamin Heydon	1602
Peter de Ciceter	1230	Thomas Stanley	1409	Richard Meredith	1607
William de Merton	1236	Richard Courtney	1410	Rhalph Barlow	1621
Joannes Saracenus	1241	Thomas Karnicke	1413	George Warburton	1631
Giles de Bridport	1253	Walter Metford	1413	Walter Raleigh	1641
Edward de la Knoll	1256	John Stafford	1423	<i>Deanery Vacant Fourteen Years.</i>	
Thomas de Button	1284	John Forest	1425	Robert Creighton	1660
William Barnell	1292	Nicholas Carent	1446	Ralph Bathurst	1670
W. de Haselshaw	1295	William Witham	1467	William Graham	1704
Henry Husee	1302	John Gunthorp	1472	Matthew Brailsford	1713
John de Godelegh	1305	William Cosyn	1498	Isaac Maddox	1723
Richard de Bury	1322	Thomas Winter	1526	John Harris	1736
Wibert de Littleton	1334	Richard Woolman	1529	Samuel Creswicke	1739
Walter de London	1335	Thomas Cromwell	1537	Hon. F. SEYMOUR	1766
John de Carlton	1350	W. Fitzwilliams	1540		
Stephen de Pympeil	1361	John Goodman	1548		

(1) John de Villula, who first fixed the pontifical seat at Bath, had practised in early life as a physician in that city. He was a native of Tours, in France.

(2) Godfrey, the second and final bishop of Bath, was of Dutch extraction, and had been chaplain to the empress Maud. Both these prelates were buried in the city which they had chosen for their episcopal residence.

INDEX TO BATH CATHEDRAL.

* * The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.

Abbey, suffered by fire, *f*; re-edified by bishop Villula, *ib.*; its revenue at the dissolution, *k* N.—Abbots, list of, *r*.—Elphage I. *d*.—Adam, a predecessor of king Bladud, *a* N.—Apollo Medicus, Bath waters dedicated to, *b*.—Antiquaries, society of, their minute description of the cathedral, *m* N.—Altar-piece presented by gen. Wade, *o*.—Aisles of the choir and transept repaired, *l*.—Altar-tomb erected to the memory of bishop Montague, *o*.

Bath, derivation of its name, *a* N.; chief seat of Apollo, and metropolitan seat of the British Druids, *a* N.; receives the light of revelation in the first century, *a*; its first religious house erected by king Osríc, *c*; privileges granted by Edgar, which grant was annually commemorated by the citizens, *e*; suffers by fire, *f*; re-edified by bishop Villula, *ib.*—Baths, two new ones built by Henry I. *f*; their names, *ib.* N.; continue in existence till the 16th century, *ib.*—Buttresses, their allegorical allusion to the founder's name, *a* N.—Bishops, list of, *r*.—Bigotry of king James II. *p*.—Bladud, king, supposed founder of the city, *a*.

Cathedral, founded and endowed by king Osríc, *c*; the secular clergy expelled, *d*; and their property given to twenty Benedictines, *ib.*; burnt by the insurrection of Robert de Mowbray, *f* N.; rebuilt by Elphage, *f*; re-edified by bishop king, *i*; surrendered to the crown *k*; minutely described by the Society of Antiquarians, *m* N.—Ceiling, its dimensions, *a*; probably the work of bishop Montague, *ib.*—Cole, Mrs. Agnes, compelled to recant, *A*.—Confession, auricular, the work of the thirteenth century, *b* N.—Ceremonies, the observance of, insisted on by Augustin, *b*; the greatest part of them devised subsequent to the age of that saint, *ib.* N.—Clergy, secular, persecuted and expelled by king Edgar, *d*.—Christianity, no authentic records of its first introduction into the city of Hot Springs, *a*.—Chantry of prior Bird, similar to, but more elegant than that of Henry IV. in Canterb. *o*; impaired to make room for the bishop's throne, *ib.*—Castello, Adrian di, expended much money on vaulting the choir, *a* N.; his arms on the roof, *ib.*—Chapman, Mr. P. repairs the abbey church, *l*.—Charter, curious one granted by bishop Villula, *f* N.

Domesday book, its origin, *e*.—Dormitory built by bishop Beckington, *l*.—Dimensions of the cathedral, *q*.—Door, given by sir Henry Montague, *m* N.—Druids, British, their metropolitan seat at Bath, *a*; part of their university still existing, *ib.*—Deans, list of, *r*.

Elphage, first abbot of Bath, *d*; canonized by the monkish writers, *ib*; his austere life, *ib.*; made bishop of Winchester, *e*.—Edgar, king, his grant to the monastery of Bath, *d*; persecutes the secular clergy, whom he expels, *ib.*; is crowned at Bath, *e*; grants privileges to the citizens, *ib.*—Ethelred II. a benefactor to the abbey, *e*.

Fielding, Mrs. S. author of David Simple, *p*; buried in the cath. *ib.*—Flesh, licence granted for the eating of, *p* N.—Fairs, two

founded by Edward I. *a*; celebrated for riot, *ib.*

Historians, British, adopt the legend of king Bladud, *a* N.—Huddleston, friar, performs the Romish ritual in the cath. *p*; exposed by bishop Kenn, *ib.*

Jones, Dr. his wonderful account of king Bladud, *a* N.—James II. tradition of, *p*; his excessive bigotry, *ib.*—John, king, founds two benedictine priories, *g* N.; annexes them to that of Bath, *ib.*; confers various privileges on the monks, *A* N.

Katencamp, St. his monument by Bacon, *q*.—King, bishop Oliver, his remarkable vision, *i* N.; resolves to rebuild the church, *ib.*; causes his vision to be represented on its front, *ib.*

Library, began by bishop Lake, *a* N.—Land tax paid by the city in the reign of Edward the confessor, *e* N.—Licence, granted to E. Read, esq. for the eating of flesh, *p* N.—Ladder, seen by bishop Oliver King in a vision, *i* N.; represented on the front of the cath. *m* N.

Monks, those of Bath, the most meritorious, *a*; employ themselves in the weaving of cloth, *ib.*—Montague, bishop, arms of, on the ceiling, *a* N.; altar-tomb erected to his memory, *o*.—Monuments, in the south side of the cath. *p*; one admirably executed by Bacon, *q*.—Marriages proclaimed in the market place, *p* N.

Nave, its ceiling, the work of bishop Montague, *a*.

Organ of the cath. its exquisite tone, *o*.—Osríc, king, founds and endows a religious establishment at *Hai Bathun*, *c*.

Plates, description of, *q*.—Phillips, Mr. R. his analysis of the Bath waters, *e* N.—Priories, Benedictine, two founded by king John, *g* N.—Psalmody, king Athelstan's partiality for, *d* N.—Palace erected by bishop Elphage on the west side of the cath. *f*.—Prayers read twice a day, *o*; propriety of establishing the cathedral service here, *ib.*

Read, Edward, receives a licence to eat flesh, *p* N.—Religious houses, Warner's view of them, *c*; not applicable to the state of society in the seventh century, *ib.* N.

Sueno desolates the city, *e*.—Shuttle, weavers, incorporated in the arms of the monastery, *A*.—Superstition, papal, unchangeable, *p* N.—Slaves, manumission of, *e*.—Society, its state in the eleventh century, *e*.—Style, pointed, Bath cathedral one of the last ecclesiastical edifices constructed on that plan, *l*.—Sun, the worship of, its probable commencement, *b*.

Tower of the cathedral not square, *o*; denominated the lanthorn of England, *ib.*; has 58 windows, *ib.*

Villula, John de, obtains a grant to augment the see, *f*; re-edifies the city and abbey, generally reputed their founder, *ib.*—Vision, remarkable one of bishop Oliver King, *i* N.—Vestry built by sir Nicholas Salterns, *l*.

Waters, Bath, dedicated to Apollo Medicus, *b*.—Window, great west, extremely rich, *m* N.; its mystic architectural design, *ib.*



A View of Bath Cathedral.

Published by J. Smith, 10, St. Paul's Churchyard, Bath.



Engr. by E. Shore, from a Drawing by E. B. Harrison.

Pl. 2.

East View of Bath Cathedral.

Published Oct. 1866 by Sharwood, Apsey & Jones, Paternoster Row.



West End of Bath Cathedral.

Published Sep: 1856 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Stationers &c.



Engraved by J. G. Kay from a drawing by H. Sturt

A View of Bath Cathedral



Prior Birds Chapel, Bath Cathedral.

Published Sept. 1866 by Darwood, Neale & Co., 25, Abchurch Lane.

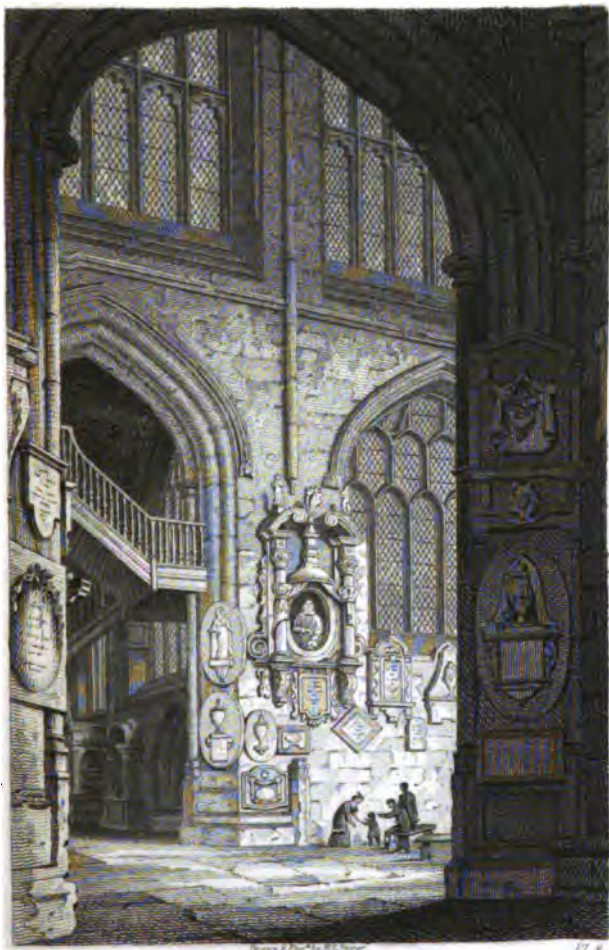


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Interior of Bath Cathedral.



S. Transept, Bath Cathedral.

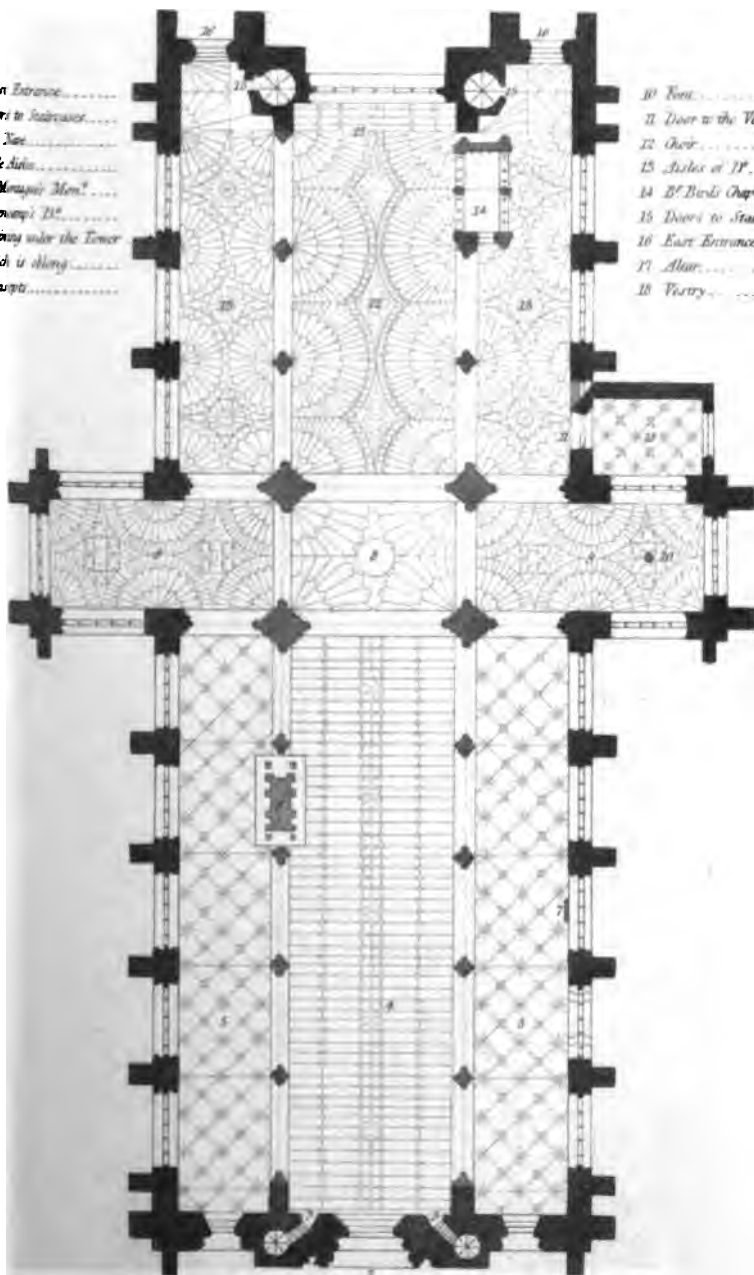
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BATH CATHEDRAL.

Showing the groining of the Roof

- 1 West Entrance.....
- 2 Doors to Staircases.....
- 3 The Nave.....
- 4 Side Aisle.....
- 5 B. Monks' Mem.^r.....
- 6 Eastways' D^r.....
- 7 Groining under the Tower which is oblong.....
- 8 Transept.....

- 10 East.....
- 11 Door to the Vestry.....
- 12 Choir.....
- 13 Aisle of P.^r.....
- 14 B. B. Chapel.....
- 15 Doors to Staircases.....
- 16 East Entrances.....
- 17 Altar.....
- 18 Vestry.....



100 Feet

Published April 1841 by the Architect, J. N. P. & Co.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE

OF

Bristol.

At whatever period the date of the foundation of Bristol may be fixed, its situation must be admitted to be highly favourable to an infant establishment. The oldest authentic denomination of this city is "*Caer Brito*", the British city, nigh to and just under the Roman city or station *Abone*, at Clifton and Rownham hill. These Roman encampments still exist. It was also called *Caer Oder Nante Badon*, or the city of Odera, in the vale of Bath or Avon. Camden, however, alleges that it was not distinguished before 1063, when Harold, according to Florence of Worcester, "set sail from Bristow to invade Wales." The same author also states the important fact, which fixes one period of the establishment of christianity in Bristol, namely, that "Jordan, the companion of St. Augustin, had his oratory and burial place here, and his pulpit of stone is said to be in the old hospital of St. Bartholomew." This proves that the christian faith was promulgated here at the latest about the close of the sixth century; but as it was so contiguous to a Roman residence, there is every reason to believe that it was favoured with the light of the gospel at the same time that all their other stations in Britain were christianized. Leland states, "at St. Augustin's Black Channons, extra moenia, ibique in magna areâ sacellum, in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli." Hence no doubt the origin of the monastery, which was subsequently erected here and dedicated to St. Augustin,

¹ It might have received this name distinct from the Roman city or station at *Abone*, *Bris*, signifying separate, and *Britain*, the separated place. Thus, *Brito* might pass into *Brysto*, *Brystoc*, *Brygheto*, *Briston*, *Brighstoe*, *Brigystowe*, and *Brigestow*, early in the Saxon times; in 1106, it was called Brigston; in 1140, Bristowe; and by Florence of Worcester, 1114, Bricstow; by Henry of Huntingdon, 1148, Brigeston. In king John's charter, 1190, when earl of Morton, now extant in Latin in the chamber of Bristol, it is throughout written *Bristallum*; the Normans wrote it *Bristolt*; by Leland, and in most of the old MSS. *Bryghtstowe*; but the Saxons, who seem to have imposed this name of *Bryghstowe*, i. e. a bright illustrious place, we may reasonably presume found it in that flourishing condition, or the name could have been applied with no sort of propriety, nor had existence, unless it be a casual variation of *Caer Brito*, its old original name. It might, indeed, as the learned bishop Gibson observes, have the name of *Brigton*, from the Saxon *Brig*, a bridge, i. e. a town with bridges, which seems applicable to the situation of the old town, almost surrounded with water.

and which in the revolution of ages is now the cathedral church of a considerable diocese, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It is however a singular fact, that no monasteries or other cloistered establishments are recorded as having been in Bristol before the middle of the twelfth century. Perhaps this may be ascribed partly to the enterprising spirit of the people, who despised such indolent habits, or to their love of commerce and its consequent advantages. As merchants and navigators they distinguished themselves before any other city in the north of Europe, and were scarcely excelled even by the Venetians or Genoese. The extended traffic² and splendid discoveries of the Bristolians, indeed, were perhaps not less propitious to real religion, and certainly more so to civilization, than any of the monkish institutions, although both might be at certain periods useful to society. But whatever may have been their religious institutions, and it is extremely improbable that such great nautical adventurers were materially deficient in this respect, it is probable that the frontier situation of this city, and the frequent domestic wars³, may have occasioned the destruction of all the historical records. The universal practice of the monkish chroniclers, no doubt, likewise, contributed to this paucity of ecclesiastical history, as they never condescended to notice any religious institutions but those belonging to some monkish order. If the schools and colleges were not under the control of monks, they were consequently beneath the attention of a monkish historian, and hence we have no Saxon records of such institutions in our city, although we know that knowledge must have been extensively diffused in it at a very early period.

With the foundation of St. Augustin's monastery, in 1140, the

² Among the articles of traffic for which Bristol has been justly celebrated, the following is the least agreeable, although perhaps related in a manner not altogether corresponding with the simple fact. "There is a town (observes the writer of the life of Wolstan, bishop of Worcester), called Brickstow, opposite to Ireland, and extremely convenient for trading with that country. Wolstan induced them to drop a barbarous custom, which neither the love of God nor the king could prevail on them to lay aside. This was a mart for slaves, collected from all parts of England, and particularly young women, whom they took care to provide with a pregnancy, in order to enhance their value. It was a most moving sight to see in their public markets, rows of young people of both sexes, tied together with ropes, of great beauty, and in the flower of their youth daily prostituted and sold. Execrable fact! wretched disgrace! Men, destitute of the affections of the brute creation, delivering into slavery their relations, and even their very offspring." Had the Bristolians shewn more partiality to monkery, this reproach would never have appeared against them, and it must be admitted, that this was not the only place in England where the like disgraceful customs prevailed.

³ That Bristol was occasionally the theatre of some horrors, appears in the following: *Ranulphus de Monte Hermeri* married the countess of Gloucester, daughter to Edward I. without his license, wherefore he caused him to be imprisoned at Bristow, a long season; but, observes the chronicler, "Is he moved with fatherly pity, he gave him at once his wife, liberty, and the earldome of Gloucester." Isabella, wife of Edward II. chased Hugh Spencer the father to Bristow, and besieged the town and castle so "straitly, that he rendered himself, wearying to have found mercy: but she that had forgot the duty of a wife to her husband, was so far from pity toward the poor captive, that she drew and quartered him alive, without either trial or judgement. Edward II. himself, by the malice of the same queen his wife, and the bishop of Hereford, was imprisoned at Bristow till such time as the townsmen devised amongst them for his delivery, by occasion whereof his keepers removed him to Berkley Castle."

monks commence their ecclesiastical history⁴ of Bristol. Yet it was owing entirely to successful commerce, which enabled its wealthy founder, Harding, to erect such a stately and venerable edifice. Genealogists and antiquaries, indeed, have not agreed, whether this merchant, Mr. Harding, was a son of the king of Denmark, or of Saxon origin. Abbot Newland considers him as "descended of the royal line of the kings of Denmark, and the youngest son; and accompanying duke William from Normandy, was at the battle of Hastings." Others allege "that Harding's mother, Godiva, was sister to Robert duke of Normandy's father." But whatever may be the lineage of the first lords Berkeley, all accounts agree, that Harding possessed immense riches, and that he died at Bristol in 1116, where he had been mayor or governor. His eldest son was Robert Fitzharding⁵, first lord of Berkeley, by gift of Henry II. To this benefactor we must attribute the chief merit of erecting and endowing the monastery, now called the cathedral church.

"It was built," observes Barrett, "on a rising ground, with a delightful prospect of the hills around, in the north-west suburb of the city, and in the manor of Billeswick. The area of the buildings, appropriated for the abbot and his monks, was very large and extensive, as by the rule of St. Augustin, to whom it was dedicated, they were to live here together in common. The walls and part of the large refectory or dining room, now converted into a prebendal house, the abbot's house now partly rebuilt and made a palace for the bishop's residence, two sides of the cloister with a curious chapter-house⁶, and some beautiful arches

⁴ It appears however that devotees existed here; and in the register of William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, it is stated, that on August 14, 1408, "he granted to all benefactors to the chapel of St. Brendan, nigh Bristol, and to Reginald Tallor, the poor hermit of it, forty days of indulgence, by his letters for one year only to continue." Leland says, "one Henry Gaunte, a knight, some tyme dwelling not farre from Brandan-hyll, by Brightstow, erected a college of priests with a master, on the green of St. Augustin." Barrett states, that in an old Latin deed relating to the Gaunts, he found mentioned "a piece of ground or croft, juxtapastoriam sancti Brendani, near the field of St. Brendan, held by a female recluse or hermit—quam reclusa tenuit." In 1351, Lucy de Newchurch repeatedly offered to the bishop of Worcester, and desired leave to be shut up in the hermitage of St. Brendan, of Bristol, and to quit the world, which, after due inquiry into her conduct, purity of life, and necessary virtues for it, was granted her. St. Brandon, to whom the chapel and hermitage were dedicated, was an Irish saint. Many other religious establishments existed in and about this city, of which no vestiges now remain, and even many of the records respecting them are often deemed apocryphal.

⁵ Robert of Gloucester, our monkish poet, has the following account of Hardyng :

"A burgeys of Bristow tho' Robert Hardinge
For great tresour and richesse so well was wyth the kyng,
That he gaft him and his heires the noble barony
That so ryche is of Berkely, with all the signorie;
And thulke Robert Harding avered suth, I wyss
An abbey at Bristow of St. Austyn that is,
Syr Rycharde le Fitzroy of whome we spake before,
Gentleman he was inough, tho' he were last ybore;
For the cries daughter of Warren, his good moder was,
And her fader king John, that begat a perchas,
Sir Morris of Berkly wedded suth bycas
His daughter, and begat on her the good knyght Sir Thomas."

⁶ There can be little doubt that this part of the building, as well as the arch of the abbey
(c)

and gateways, are still to be seen." These, with the church, evidently demonstrate the whole to have been once a very spacious and magnificent monastery. William of Worcester says, " the sanctuary place of St. Augustin from the east, where is the entrance of the sanctuary into the farthest gate for entering the court of the abbot, from the offices, houses, and granaries of the bakers, brewers, stable-keepers, of my lords the abbots, &c. contains 360 steps (or paces), as you go by the church of St. Augustin. The breadth of the sanctuary from the gate aforementioned to entering the lane called Frog-lane, contains 240 steps (or paces). The breadth or distance of the place from the west part of the gate of the Gauntes to the gate of the entrance of the church of the abbey of St. Augustin, contains across 180 steps."

According to abbot John Newland, who composed a history of the foundation, it appears that Robert Fitzharding, first lord of Berkeley and prime founder of the monastery of St. Augustin, died a canon of it, as is evident by his obit, which was annually celebrated at the chapter-house, declaring, " this day deceased Robert Fitzharding, canon, and our founder." The charter of his son Maurice, second lord Berkeley, states, " I Maurice, son and heir of sir Robert Fitzharding, have granted and confirmed for the health of my soul and all my ancestry, to the church of St. Augustin, by Bristol, which my lord and father hath founded, all such things which my said father hath given and granted to the canons of the said church, viz. within Berkeley Herness, Almondsbury, Horfield, Ashelworth, and Cromhall, which he gave unto them when he became and was a canon; the which sir Robert died February 5, 1170, and was buried between the abbot's and prior's stall, and next to the abbot's stall entering in the choir, and Eva his wife was buried by him; she died the 12th of March following." He was 75 years old at his death. This sir Robert first lord Berkeley began the foundation of St. Augustin's abbey, in 1140, and built the church and all the offices in six years. Simon bishop of Worcester, Robert bishop of Exeter, Geoffry bishop of Landaff, and Gilbert bishop of St. Asaph, dedicated the monastery church. Afterwards the bishop of Worcester inducted six canons of the monastery of Wigmore, selected by sir Robert, for his church and monastery, on Easter-day, April 11, 1148.

" For which good lord sir Robert our founder, and dame Eva his wife, these be the special things due for them, besides the general prayers, continually done in divine service by day and by night; first, a daily special prayer said for them and all other founders and bene-

gate, and the arched doorway towards the cloistres, were erected before the date here alleged. Bishop Lyttleton, whose opinions of Saxon architecture were originally questioned, but now fully confirmed, considers them as of true Saxon workmanship.

(d)

factors, at the hour of seven in the morning, and also daily prayers by name in our chapter-house openly. Also they have other rites solemnly sung with ringing on the eve of their anniversary, and on the morrow commendations; the abbot for the founder, and the prior for the foundress, executing the divine service. On the morrow of the day of the anniversary, an hundred poor men be refreshed, every one of them having a canon's loaf of bread called a *myche*, and three herrings therewith, and amongst them all two bushels of pease; also another dole that day shall be given of money, cake, and loaves; the abbot having a cake price fourpence, with two castes of bread and fourpence for wine, the prior, sub-prior, and almoner, every of them two cakes, price twopence each, with one cast of bread and twopence for wine; every secular servant of the household within the monastery to have a penny cake and a cast of bread; every friar within every house of the four orders of Bristol to have a loaf; and likewise every prisoner within the gaol of Newgate of Bristol, a loaf; and all the rest of the bread undealt to be dealt at the gate of the said monastery among poor people, and *every man taking part of this dole shall have forty days pardon*. And on the day of the anniversary of dame Eva his wife, shall

7 The privileges of the people of Bristol were very extensive, and in some respects peculiar. A charter attributed to Henry II. and dated 1172, published by lord Lyttleton, and inserted in the Rev. Mr. Beyer's Royal Charters and Letters Patent, &c. to Bristol," grants the city of Dublin to Bristol. "I have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed to my men of Bristow my city of Dublin for them to inhabit. Therefore I will and strictly enjoin that they may inhabit it, and hold it of me and my heirs, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, wholly and fully, and honourably, with all the liberties and free customs which the men of Bristow have at Bristow, and through my whole land." A previous charter, dated in 1164, granted them free of "tolls and passage, and of every other custom." But the charter of John earl of Morton or Montague, and afterwards king John, confirms all these privileges to the citizens of Bristol, and adds many more,— "that they shall be able to marry themselves, their sons, their daughters, and their widows, without the licence of their lords; and that no one of their lords shall have the wardship or the disposal of their sons or daughters on account of their tenements which belong to their own fee until they shall be of age," &c. This abolishes the odious custom of the barons or lords exercising the right of preventing their tenants and mesne lords and their families from marrying, unless with their consent. For such consent a fine was to be paid; and sometimes they proposed a disagreeable marriage, in order to receive a fine for not enforcing it. When a tenant or mesne lord died, the lord had likewise the wardship or guardianship of their widows and children, and of their property till they came of age. From these vexatious claims the burgesses of Bristol were thus exempted, and the worst part of the feudal system abolished at a very early period. The curious observer may perhaps inquire, if this liberty contributed to the increase of talent, and to that extraordinary abundance of native genius for which Bristol has long been justly celebrated. This right of marriage fines however has been strangely misconceived by some foreign writers, who have confounded it with the scandalous *droit de cuissage* in France, and concluded, that the lords in England had a right to bed the first night with their tenants' brides. Henry III. confirmed king John's charter in 1252, and the confirmation was signed among others, by John Maunsell, provost of Beverley, "a clergyman who enjoyed no less than 700 ecclesiastical preferments at once, which," says Rapin, "brought him in yearly 4000 marks."

By a charter of Edward III. dated August 8, 1373, Bristol and its suburbs were separated from Gloucester and Somerset, and erected into an independent county by itself, called "the county of Bristol, *et comitatus Bristolii municipalis in perpetuum*," &c. This charter also contains a special clause, that the "said town of Bristol shall not in any ways be *burthened* (non oneretur) to send more than two men only to the parliament," who are to be both knights of the county and burgesses of the borough. Queen Anne's charter, in 1710, confirms Bristol as an independent county, and nominates a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and forty-two members of common council.

(c)

be dealt to fifty poor men, fifty loaves called myches, with three her-rings a-piece, and amongst them all a bushel of pease."

Notwithstanding the founder's endowments, almost every succeeding lord of Berkeley gave something additional to the monastery. The second Robert lord Berkeley gave to it the church of St. Nicholas, in Bristol, in which it has been usual for the bishop to have his visitation sermon, "probably from its being the first church in Bristol given to the monastery." The third Robert gave still more liberally to this favourite institution; but having treacherously favoured the French king against the English, his estates were seized, but were ransomed for a fee of 966*l*. "He was a pious and good man, and built the hospital of St. Catharine, at Bedminster. He died in 1220, and is buried in the north aisle of Augustin's monastery, over against the high altar (in an arch), lying in a monk's cowl, a usual fashion for great lords in those times; Julian and Lucy, his two wives, are buried near him; Lucy survived him, and afterwards married Hugh de Gourney." The lords of Berkeley continued their grants almost down to the period of the reformation. "Thus," observes our historian, "to this noble family was this monastery beholden for its liberal endowments as well as for its first foundation and erection; each of them distinguished himself as being the father and patron of this church; they nursed it as it were from its cradle, supported it in its infancy, and still continued to protect and enrich it in the riper years of its maturity, and were doubtless men of as great piety and extensive charity, as they were many of them of the greatest abilities both in the cabinet and in the field. They gave such large estates to monasteries from a pious zeal and religious motive, and endowed them with so many benefices, that the family is said to have but one rectory to which they might present a chaplain." But the monastery also received very extensive gifts and donations from kings Henry and John, the earls of Chester, Gloucester, &c. This establishment was one of the great abbeys^s, although John Snow, who governed it from 1332 to 1341, was the first and last abbot who was summoned to parliament. The whole convent

^s The monks of this monastery, like those of all others, occasionally fell into the greatest irregularities and vices. In 1278, Godfrey, bishop of Worcester, at his visitation, found the abbey, as well in temporal as spiritual matters, greatly decayed (*damnabiliter prolapsam*), and ordered that in future the monks do not, as becs, fly out of the choir as soon as service is ended, but return to God due thanks for their benefactors. "And as the present abbot was not sufficiently instructed to *propound the word of God in common*, he appointed others in his stead; and that allence be better observed than usual, that no one go out without necessity, and not then but when two are in company, one the elder, the other the younger, licensed by the abbot, or the prior in his absence." Greater economy and decorum were ordered in the refectory; fragments to be given to the poor, the sick better attended, others prohibited from *feigning sickness*, and no secular person to be admitted to them but the physician; the friars were not to meet for drinking and surfeiting, nor to use detraction and obscene speech at their meals; the abbot was to swear all his servants annually to the faithful discharge of their duty: and that "Henry of the granary, Hugh the seller of corn, and Roger the porter be removed from office, and others

"consisted of an abbot, prior, sub-prior, and about fourteen friers or regular canons, professing the rule of St. Augustin, of the order of

more faithful be appointed in their room." In 1280, 1290, 1271, and 1274, several abuses were also stigmatized and ordered to be reformed.

9 Form of electing an abbot. Wm. Coke, sub-prior was chosen abbot on March 7, 1335; but a dispute arose about his election, which was decided by the prior of the church of Worcester, the see being then vacant. "Walter de Shaftesbury, prior of the monastery of St. Augustin, Bristol, and the under-written canons regular of the same, viz. frier Thomas de Bykenore, Robert Dunsterre, Simon de Tormaton, Robert Syde, John de Lammer, Richard Martyn Chamberlain, John Badmenton, Walter Cheltenham, Laurence de Cyrencoester, John Sayte, John de Launston, Walter Ragulm, Adam Horselye, John Goldenye, John Strete, making the convent of the said monastery, being met in the chapter-house, and having received the license of Philippa queen of England, their patron, to choose an abbot in the room of Ralph Asche, the last abbot, who died the first of March 1332, the word of God being first expounded, and an hymn de sancto spirita sung, all present then in the chapter-house, being ordered solemnly to depart who had no right in this election of an abbot, the queen's letter of license was first read, and consideration had among themselves concerning the mode of the election, which was determined to be by scrutiny; three scrutators out of the whole were then chosen, who were separately to receive the vote of each present in a secret manner, and to write it down, and so continue the scrutiny till the major part of the canons of the whole convent should consent to the same fit person; which being done, the scrutators privately retiring to one corner of the chapter-house, and having written and reckoned the votes, they published their scrutiny to the rest in common, by which it appeared, that nine of them consented to name Mr. Wm. Coke, the other eight of them divided their votes to different persons. The best and major part of the whole convent having thus given their votes for William Coke, thereto qualified as a religious man, professing the rule of St. Augustin and the order of canons regular instituted in the said monastery, honest, of a lawful age above thirty, in the order of priesthood, born in lawful wedlock, on all which accounts the election was unanimously ordered to be made by Robert Syde, thus, 'In the name of the high and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Whereas the monastery of St. Augustin, Bristol, is now vacant by the death of R. Asche, the last abbot, who has been ecclesiastically interred, and all those who could be present and had right of electing a future abbot at a day and hour appointed for such election, came together and agreed, that the said election should be made by scrutiny, which was accordingly made and published, it was clearly found that the best and major part of the said whole convent agreed upon frier Wm. Coke, the sub-prior, a provident and discreet person, competent, learned, eminent for his morals and conversation in life, a priest in orders, expressly professing the rule of St. Augustin, and the order of canons regular in the said monastery, of ripe age, begot in lawful matrimony, prudent in all temporal and spiritual matters, whom nothing prevents of canonical institution. Therefore I Robert Syde, proctor of the said monastery, on behalf of myself and the whole convent, by the power given me by the whole convent, invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, do elect our said brother Wm. Coke for abbot of the monastery aforesaid; and immediately afterwards we all and every one (the said elect only excepted, who then neither approved nor disapproved the said election) with one accord, consented to and expressly approved of the said election so solemnly celebrated; and lifting up the said elected brother Wm. Coke with our hands amongst us, and singing solemnly *Te Deum Laudamus*, we carried him to the high altar of the said monastery, and reclined him upon the said altar according to custom, and saying the usual prayer over him, we commanded the said election to be published in the English tongue to the clergy and laity then in the said monastery, in great multitude assisting, by the said Robert Syde, there present, taking on him that order by our direction. The day following at three o'clock, we caused to be presented the process of the said election by our fellow canon and proctor Richard Martyn to the said elected abbot, desiring that he would vouchsafe to yield consent to the said election; he willing to see the said process, and to deliberate concerning it, received it, and at nine o'clock the same day the said proctor required of him consent to the said election in this manner: 'I prior Richard Martyn, the proctor of the priory and convent of canons regular of St. Augustin, Bristol, in the diocese of Worcester, do present to you our elect lord for abbot of the said monastery, the process of election made of you; I also require in my own and the name of the said prior and convent humbly, that you would vouchsafe to impart your consent to the said election.' After this, the said elect, after short deliberation, answered the said proctor, and consented to it in this manner: In the name, &c. I Wm. Coke, canon, &c. observing from the tenor of the process of election of an abbot of the said monastery made of me, which process has been offered to me and examined, that the said election has been made in canonical form, reposeing hope in God of my ability in the said matter, and unwilling on this occasion to resist the divine will; in honour of God, and the glorious Virgin, and of St. Augustin, to whose honour this monastery was built, do consent to this election made of me.' This completed the election, and nothing remained but the convent's application to the bishop of Worcester to confirm the choice and to confer the benediction of the abbot, which finished

St. Victor ; whether they did not increase the number of their body, according to their income and ability, does not appear ; that such was the number in 1353, however is clear."

With respect to the style and dates of erecting this cathedral, we shall first quote the words of bishop Lyttleton before referred to. It " appears to be of one and the same style of building throughout, and no part older than Edward the First's time, though some writers suppose that the present fabric was begun in king Stephen's time ; but not a single arch, pillar, or window, agrees with the mode which prevailed at that time. Indeed, the lower part of the chapter-house walls, together with the doorway and columns at the entrance of the chapter-house, I should pronounce of that age, or rather prior to king Stephen's reign, being true Saxon architecture. The inside walls of the chapter-house have round ornamental arches, intersecting each other like those in St. Nicholas's chancel, Warwick, which was part of the old Saxon nunnery church. The great gateway leading into College Green is round, arched with mouldings richly ornamented in the Saxon taste. Query—If this part of the gateway be not coeval with Fitzharding, founder of St. Augustin's temp. Henry I. but the inscription and upper part of the gate where the images are placed, are far more modern." It is, however, generally admitted, that the structure on the north side of the cathedral, which is usually called the elder lady chapel, may be a remain of the original edifice begun by Fitzharding. But the earliest record which now remains of the building, dates no higher than 1311, when it appears that abbot Knowles, or de Knolle, commenced its re-edification. According to Newland, he began rebuilding the church which is now standing, the twenty-fifth Edward I. on the 20th of August ; he raised it from the ground (*ecclesia jam funditus diruta*) according to the Worcester register, with the vestry, the king's hall and chamber, and the pantry, and procured from the king a confirmation of all the possessions of the monastery. He died in 1332, and was buried at the north-wall, and his effigy is in pontificalibus. The fourth Maurice lord Berkeley, was also a promoter of this grant, and obtained a papal bull to procure benefactions towards rebuilding the church, which does not appear to have been totally completed till after 1363. Abbots Newbury and Hunt were likewise benefactors to this abbey and church ; the latter rebuilt the roof of the church and aisles, and caused the lead to be new cast all from the tower eastward, for which he had a yearly mass decreed him perpetually to be observed. The learned Abbot Newland, or Nailheart, contributed liberally towards the improvement of the buildings, and

the whole, and the abbot was inducted and installed by the prior of St. James, to whom a commission from the see of Worcester was directed for that purpose.

(h)

his successor Robert Elliot, from 1515 to 1526, assisted him in erecting, or rather modulating, "the stately gatehouse, at least the upper part of it above the arch, where they made niches, in which they did not forget to place their own statues, with their arms underneath." On the north side of this structure, near the top, the arms of Edward the Confessor still remain, which prove its great antiquity. Morgan Guiliam was the last abbot; he surrendered his abbey "in December 1539, for a pension of 80*l.* a year, a mansion to reside in, fuel, and other conveniences. The prior and ten other monks received pensions of eight and six pounds a year. According to Fuller and Speed, the abbot kept six concubines, a fact which has been modestly questioned by those who, judging from modern sentiments, and unacquainted with the measure of cloistered sensuality, have suspected to be an exaggeration.

Bristol is one of the protestant sees. It was erected, says Henry the Eighth's patent, in 1542, for the reform of abuses, increase of religion, and encouragement of learning; and if we may judge from the most unequivocal evidence of facts, both the cause and effect have been the very best possible that can animate human efforts. After the following declaration in the deed of erection of the diocese of Bristol, and the happy effects which have succeeded it, nothing but the grossest perversion of every principle of right reason and common justice could for a moment induce a doubt of the purity of the motives which dictated it. "*Divinâ nos clementiâ inspirante, &c.* Inspired by the divine clemency. We from our heart affecting nothing more than that the true religion and true worship of God may not only not be abolished, but rather that it may be wholly restored and reformed to the primitive rule of its own genuine purity; and having corrected the enormities into which the life and profession of the monks in the long course of time had most deplorably fallen, and even aggravated, we have endeavoured, as far as human infirmity can provide against it, that in future in this same place *instructions out of the holy oracles and sacraments of our saving redemption may be purely administered, the discipline of good manners be sincerely kept, youth be liberally in-*

10 The abbot's lodgings were converted into a palace for the bishop; the building was repaired by bishop Smallridge, but going to decay, was nearly rebuilt by bishop Butler, in 1744, at an expense of near 5000*l.* This most liberal and pious prelate purchased some apartments belonging to the prebendaries, which enabled him to give a proper extent to his new buildings. While the palace was rebuilding a parcel of plate fell through the floor in the corner of one of the rooms, which by this accident was found to be decayed, and occasioned the floor to be taken up, "when," observes Barret, "to the surprise of the workmen a room appeared underneath, in which were found a great many human bones, and instruments of iron, it was supposed, to punish the refractory and criminals. At the same time was discovered a private passage to this dungeon, originally constructed with the edifice, being an arched way, just large enough for one person to pass in at a time, made in the thickness of the wall; one end terminated in the dungeon, and the other in an apartment of the house, which by all appearance had been used as a court; but both entrances of this mural passage were walled up and so concealed, that no one could suspect it to be any other than one solid thick wall." The deanery was repaired by dean Creswick, and almost entirely rebuilt by dean Warburton, the ever-memorable bishop of Gloucester.

structed in learning, old age failing in strength be cherished with things necessary for their support, that alms to the poor may abound, and the repairs of highways and bridges may hence be supported, &c. we have therefore erected this bishopric, &c." The diocess is said to contain about 256 churches and chapels, of which 221 are in the county of Dorset. The establishment consists of a dean, six prebendaries, six minor canons or priests vicars (one of whom is to be sacrist), one deacon, six lay-clerks or singing men, one master of the choristers, one sub-deacon, six choristers, two masters of the grammar school, four alms men, one sub-sacrist or sexton, one proctor, who was to be the verger, one butler, two cooks, in all 39 persons. Bristol, like Peterborough, has no archdeacon.

The present mutilated church has occasioned much fruitless inquiry respecting the period and extent of its mutilation, no authentic document having been hitherto found to satisfy curiosity on this head. The actual cathedral consists only of a choir, its aisles, and a transept with an elegant tower, but is without a nave, aisles, and west front. It has one beauty however which does not occur in any other of our cathedrals, we mean the uniform height of the ceiling in the choir, aisles, and transept. Were the elevation of the ceiling here as great as it is in Lincoln or Canterbury, its sublimity and beauty would surpass any thing of the kind in Britain or even on the continent. How far the nave originally extended, or at what period it was rebuilt, or desolated, it is now difficult to determine. The fragile records of tradition say that the nave was destroyed at the reformation, previous to the king's determination of erecting it into a cathedral. The remains of arches, which still appear west of the tower, prove that a nave or similar edifice formerly existed here, and the basis of a buttment in one of the garden walls seems to indicate distinctly the western boundary of the building, and probably the original work of Fitzharding. According to the records of Worcester in 1311, the old church was still standing, but in a ruinous state, so that the bishop granted the church of Wotton to the monastery, in order to assist in repairing the abbey church, which was called a work *sumptuoso constructa*. The vestiges which remain bear internal evidence of the high antiquity of the first church. It is true, during the rebellious times " in 1641, numerous depredations were committed on this sacred edifice and

11 "At the period," observes Mrs. Mary Robinson, "when the ancient city of Bristol was besieged by Fairfax's army, the troops being stationed on a rising ground in the vicinity of the suburbs, a great part of the venerable minster was destroyed by the cannonading, before prince Rupert surrendered to the enemy; and the beautiful Gothic structure, which at this moment fills the contemplative mind with awe, was reduced to but little more than one half of the original fabric. Adjoining to the consecrated hill, whose antique tower resists the ravages of time, once stood a monastery of monks, of the order of St. Augustin. This building formed a part of the spacious boundaries which fell before the attacks of the enemy, and became a part of the ruins

its appurtenances; and in 1649, the gatehouse was sold for 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the palace and park for 240*l.* In 1655, Walter Deyos being mayor, the lead was taken from the cloisters and also off the cathedral, and deposited in the hands of the chamberlain. This spoliation being stopped, the lead was sold to repair the cathedral. In 1670, above 1311*l.* was expended on the fabric and prebendal houses; and in 1681 and 1685, deans Towgood and Levett laid out about 300*l.* in repairing the floor, "beautifying the church," painting the east end of the choir and other works, and making a fine case for the new organ, which was built at the expense of the dean and chapter during the prelacy of bishop Wright, about 1630, at an expense of 550*l.* In the body of the church is a stone pulpit, bearing the royal arms, those of the prince of Wales, of the bishopric, of the city, and of bishop Wright, by whom it was presented to the church. In pannelled niches in the screen of the choir are paintings of the twelve minor prophets. Over the doorway are the arms of Henry VIII. and prince Edward. There are thirty-four stalls in the choir, which was fitted up in 1542, when the church became a cathedral; below them are pews of more modern erection. A grand seat for the bishop was erected by Paul Bush, the first prelate, which still bears his arms; there is another opposite to it for the archdeacon of Dorset. The east window is adorned with curious tracery, and glazed with painted glass. Edward Colston, esq. gave 260*l.* to repair the choir, and lay the marble round the communion table. In several parts of the wainscot appear the initials T. W. (Thomas Wright), who was receiver-general to the chapter at its first establishment, and had the direction of the repairs then bestowed on the building. In the south and north aisles are painted glass windows, the former representing, in different compartments, our Saviour in the garden, his resurrection, &c. Abraham offering Isaac, Jonah and the whale, and Elijah in his fiery chariot; the latter represents the house of prayer, expulsion of the sellers out of the temple, our Saviour's answer of render to Cæsar, Jacob's ladder, &c. This stained glass, it is said, was an expiatory gift to the church, by Nell Gwyn, mistress to Charles II. Lady Loyd gave a silver paten and chalice for the communion service, in 1710; and two years after John Ramsey, esq. presented to the church a pair of large silver candlesticks, which cost 114*l.* In the tower are five bells, the four least were

which never was repaired, or re-raised to its former Gothic splendour." In addition to this barbarity another fact must be mentioned, as illustrating the more than savage ferocity of these two-legged monsters. The ruthless soldiers, not content with outraging the tombs of the dead, and offering every vulgar indignity which their imbecile minds could devise, to profane every place consecrated to the worship of the living God, uncovered the palace of the bishop for the sake of the lead on its roof, and, to complete the measure of their brutality, proceeded so far as actually to lay open the very room in which the bishop's lady was confined in child-bed!!!

cast under the direction of abbot Newland; three of them are dedicated to St. Clement, St. Margaret, and St. Catharine, with the usual supplication *ora pro nobis*. The largest bell was cast in 1570; vacant frames appear for five more, and tradition says, that the *bells were stolen*, others say they were sold to Redcliff church. Among the older parts of this cathedral must be ranked the chapel on its north side before alluded to. The ceiling is low, but the windows and whole style of architecture prove it to be very ancient. The neatness of the black marble pillars with which it was adorned, and its arched roof, shew it to have been a very rich and elegant structure. The adjacent College Green, now the fashionable promenade of the city, was formerly the burial-place of the monastery, designated in ancient records, as "the cemetery of the abbot and convent, by whom a solemn procession was usually made round it on festival days, and religious rights performed, and sermons preached at the great cross annually on Easter and the three following days. There have been found here tombstones and skulls, and bones dug up when the new houses were built on the Gaunts' side; and at digging up the old trees in the ninth of Henry VII. the like bones were thrown up, and more recently in mending the walks and erecting rails."

The following summary view of the different periods in which the various parts of this edifice were erected, it is believed, is more accurate than any hitherto published. The vestry was built and the eastern part of the church begun by abbot Knowle, between 1306 and 1332. The building was resumed in the reign of Henry VI. when the abbey rented a quarry at Dundry, from the bishop of Bath and Wells, and incurred a heavy debt for the expenses. The tower, it appears, was then begun if not actually finished. The works were continued during the reign of Edward IV. when probably the south end of the transept was first finished, as the white rose appears in its windows. The vaulting of the north end of the transept bears the arms of abbot Newland, and consequently was completed between 1481 and 1515. The windows of the choir were probably glazed not long after the accession of Edward IV. and his visit to Bristol, as the armorial bearings are chiefly of his ancestors and most powerful adherents. The choir appears to have been finished after 1515, by abbot Elliot, whose arms and initials often occur in it, particularly on the stalls. The ancient part of the altar screen seems to have been finished not long before the dissolution, having on it the arms of Elliot, and the rebus (a burr plant on a ton) of abbot Burton. The arms of abbot Somerset are over the north-east door. The present altar-piece has an emblematic painting of the Trinity, by Van Someren.

We have now to notice some of the more remarkable monuments

(m)

and tablets, in this cathedral; the latter however are much more numerous, and can only be compared to those in Bath. Of the more ancient monuments, their position and character will be found in the ground plan. Among the modern works of art, Bacon's finely-executed monument to Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, the lady of Daniel D. esq. and the celebrated Eliza of Sterne, has attracted the greatest attention. The design is under a pointed arch, and presents two beautiful figures of genius and benevolence, with their usual emblems. This monument, which is against the west wall, deserves our respect as a work of art, highly honourable to the country; its extrinsic merit is of a more equivocal character. This lady, who it is said, "united genius and benevolence," died in 1778, ten years after Sterne, in her thirty-fifth year; and although her sentimental correspondence with this licentious wit was, doubtless, perfectly innocent, yet, as it cannot be held forth as an example worthy of imitation, it must be at least censured as impolitic, if not imprudent. It is true, apologists and even admirers will always be found for such characters on the general and vague plea of benevolence; but it ought to be remembered, that there is no absolute benevolence without absolute justice, and that they who rely wholly on the former, almost as invariably sacrifice the latter, which is the more noble, because more intellectual quality. In the elder lady's chapel is the tomb of Fitzharding, the founder of the monastery; and at its entrance is the grave of abbot Cooke." In the wall of the north aisle, under an

12 As the greater part of the monks belonging to the cathedrals in England were of the Benedictine order, it may be proper to state the rule of the Augustins. Rule I. Property relinquished by the application for admission; probation by the prior; nothing to be taken away by a canon leaving the order from necessity. Any thing offered to be accepted by the prior's approbation, the rule to be observed from the superior downwards. Punishment denounced for contumacy, and offences declared to the prepositus, before whom disagreements were also to be laid. Property detained through necessity, as above, to be delivered to the superior. Rule II. What psalms, &c. to be sung at the hours and nightly readings immediately after vespers. Labour from the morning till sixth, and from sixth till nones reading. After refection work till vespers. Two to be sent together on the convent business. No one to eat or drink out of the house. Brothers sent to sell things not to do any thing against the rule. *No idle talking or gossiping, but sitting at work in silence.* Rule III. Union in one house; food and raiment distributed by the superior. Every thing common. Consideration to be had of infirmity; against pride on account of difference of birth. Concord. Attention to divine service at the proper hours. Not to make other use of the church than that it was destined to, except praying in it, out of the proper hours, when they had leisure or inclination. When psalm-singing, to revolve it in the heart. Not to sing but what was enjoined to be sung. Fasting and abstinence. Those who did not fast, to take nothing beyond the usual time of dining, except when sick. Reading during dinner. Better food for the sick not to make the others discontented. Better provisions and clothes for those of delicate habit, not to disgust the others. Sick to be treated in recovery as suitable; return to the usual habit when well. Habit not conspicuous. To walk together when going out, and stand together at the journey's end. Nothing offensive in gait, habit, or gestures. *Not to fix their eyes upon women. Mutually to preserve each other's modesty when two go together, in a church where women were.* Punishment by the superior for such offences. Receipts of letters and presents to be punished unless voluntarily confessed. Clothes from one common vestuary, as food from one cellar. Labour for the common good. Vestments sent by relatives to be stored in the common vestuary. Same punishment for concealment as for theft. Clothes washed according to the order of the superior either by themselves or fullers. Washing the body in case of infirmity by medical advice, or, on refusal of that, by the order of the superior. Not to go to the baths but by two or three, and then with the person appointed by the superior.

arch, is the tomb of a knight, which, says Gough's Camden, being opened, "on lifting the lid of the coffin, the body of the knight was found wrapped in a bag of horse-hair, inclosed in leather, the interstices in the coffin being filled up with earth." The monuments and tablets to A. A. Henderson, Mrs. Catharine Vernon, Mrs. Mason, the wife of the poet, T. Carter, esq. M. P. for Bristol, Henry and Margaret Robinson, and the rev. S. Love, have been justly admired for the simple elegance and natural feeling of their respective inscriptions. The choir is chiefly occupied by the remains of the bishops of the diocese¹³, and the chancel contains a slight memorial of the profoundly-learned pious and amiable Nathaniel Foster, D.D. whose edition of the Hebrew Bible without points, greatly facilitated and

Sick to have an infirmarer; cellarers, chamberlains, or librarians, to serve the brethren with good-will. Books not to be obtained but at the stated hour. Clothes and shoes to be delivered when needed. No lawsuits or quarrels, or terminated as quick as possible. Satisfaction to be made for offences, and speedy forgiveness in the offended. Harsh expressions avoided, and an apology made when uttered. Obedience to the superior, who, if he spoke harsh, was not to beg pardon. Obedience to the head over them, but especially to the priest, who had the care of the whole house. Superior, when his authority was not sufficient, to have recourse to that of the elder or priest. Superior to govern in charity; to be strict in discipline, yet aim more to be loved than feared. Rule to be read in the presence of the monks once a week.

13 It has been well said by a native historian, that "perhaps few cities in the kingdom furnish means for sources of pleasing associations, in a greater degree, than Bristol. I shall freely confess, even at the hazard of incurring a charge of extreme partiality to my native city, that almost every part of it is associated to my mind with the remembrance of some character, or some event upon which I can dwell with pleasure, or contemplate with admiration. If the recollection of its castle present itself to my mind, my imagination immediately recalls the image of *Ælla*, the 'hero of yore,' or Robert earl of Gloucester, in the greatness of eminent talents, rising superior to all the unpropitious circumstances of the barbarism of the age, and shining with peculiar splendour amid the glooms of superstition and ignorance. He was a munificent rewarder of learning and merit, patron and friend of Wm. Malmesbury, and to him the natives of Bristol are indebted for the first bridge over the Avon, probably as early as 1141." The recollection of the society of *Kalendaries*, their library of 'Saxonne Historie and Lege,' their members, Robert Ritant, Mr. Canynge, Thomas Botoner, Thomas Norton the alchymist, Wm. of Worcester, and perhaps the far-famed Thomas Rowley. Among the Carmalites the intrepid Milverton, the poetic Stowe, Lydgate, and Clarkyn of 'mickle lore,' and the grammarians Robert Lane and Little, &c. "For myself," observes the rev. John Evans, in a spirit of christian patriotism unhappily too rare in the present age: "I shall confess, that I have derived peculiar pleasure from knowing in what respect the name of my father is connected with the history of my country, and with what eminent persons I may consider myself connected as natives of the same city. This knowledge is a source of pleasure, as it communicates interest to scenes long since familiar, by combining with them associations of the characters and actions of the illustrious dead." These sentiments are particularly valuable at the present period, when ambitious, unfeeling, and tyrannic men are proclaiming their universal philanthropy, at the very moment they are abusing their friends and countrymen, unknowingly verify every letter of scripture. But the number of great men in every department of human knowledge, which Bristol has produced, probably exceeds that of any other place of equal extent in this kingdom, perhaps in the civilized world. The benedictine monk Bibert, a historian of his times, in the twelfth century; Ralph of Bristol, the biographer of St. Laurence, of Dublin; Richard Lavingham, the abridger of Bede's history, John Spine, and Nicholas Thorn; Sebastian Cabot, the real discoverer of North America, who visited Newfoundland and the whole continent from the sixty-seventh to the thirty-eighth degree, in 1499, a year before Columbus or Colon, or Americi Vesputio; Wm. of Worcester, or as he sometimes added his maternal name Botoner; the profound Grecian Wm. Grocyane, archbishop Tobias Matthews, the musical Dr. Wm. Child; the philanthropist Edward Colston, who spent 140,000*l.* in acts of benevolence; the rev. John Lewis, the erudite editor of Wickliffe's translator of the Testament; the unfortunate, but most extraordinary youth Thomas Chatterton; the accomplished hero sir Wm. Draper, who so ably tilted with the malign Janus; the youthful poets, W. T. Roberts, and J. D. Worgan; Mrs. Yearley, the poetical milk-woman; Mrs. Mary Robinson, T. Eagles; besides Cottle, Hannah Moore, Coleridge, Southey, and many other living authors of merited distinction; as well as the late benefact Richard Reynolds, founder of the *Samaritan Society*. For more particulars, see Evans's "Ponderer."

encouraged the study of that sacred language. He enjoyed the friendship of bishops Secker, Butler, and Warburton, and the erudite Bryant, but sunk under disease in his forty-first year, in 1757. To the truly christian Butler, he was domestic chaplain and residuary legatee; and if any thing were wanting to the memory of these good divines, it might be found in their mutual friendship. Unfortunately he did not live to hear and refute the infamous calumnies which were for a moment cast on this amiable prelate, for merely putting the figure of a cross in the chapel of the episcopal palace. This office however was amply supplied by archbishop Secker, and since by bishop Halifax, in his admirable introduction to the "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion." The mural monument to captain Elton, who fell in a naval engagement with the French in 1745, and that to Dr. Joshua Berkeley, dean of Tuam, erected in 1807, are also decorations to the edifice.

Many distinguished prelates have filled this protestant see. During the prelacy of John Holyman, and the sanguinary dominion of Mary, five poor men were burnt in Bristol¹⁴. Rich. Sharp, Thomas Benyon, weavers, Thos. Hales, a shoemaker, a young man a carpenter, and Edw. Spark, "a godly, aged, and devout person," were burnt in Sept. 1556, and May and August 1557, for their attachment to the protestant faith. The atrocity of murdering these men for their opinions, should perhaps be considered if possible still more heinous than even the burning of such divines as Hooper, Ridley, and others. To the honour of bishop Holyman, indeed, it must be recorded, that he refused to sanction those deeds of horror, and it was W. Dalby, the chancellor of the diocese, who was the chief holy assassin. The genius of commerce and science are as opposite to that of popery, as are the principles of good and evil; and in the days of Charles II. even the Flemish merchants were not allowed to keep mass-priests in their houses, nor was the public exercise of papal superstition then permitted in the city. The promptitude also of bishop Trewlaney in congratulating the prince of Orange, shews, that any tendency to idolatry and ignorance was wisely spurned. At no period, however, can it be said, that superstition had complete ascendancy in this city, notwithstanding its active inter-

¹⁴ The judgment of these men is very similar to that recorded by Beza, in his "*Hist. Eccles. &c.*" of the reformed churches in France. In 1562, Jean Tironde, a protestant advocate, was beheaded at Toulouse, by virtue of a sentence of the parliament in the following terms: "M. Tironde, the court does not find you guilty in the least; however, being well informed of your inward thoughts, and that you would have been very well pleased, if those of your wretched and reprobate sect had gained the victory (and, indeed, you have always favoured them) they have condemned you to be beheaded, and have confiscated your estate without any exceptions." The arts of calumny against the protestants were quite abortive here, and such papal inventions as that of pope Gregory, were perfectly harmless. "Whenever," says this truth-loving pope, "any person is received into their sect a toad appears, which they must kiss; after this a meagre black man approaches towards them, and his embrace causes a total oblivion of the catholic religion. When their meals are over, a cat is produced, which they likewise kiss, and thereupon the lights being extinguished, they abandon themselves to the most infamous and unnatural practices."

course with Spain¹⁵ and Ireland; it imported none of their ferocious bigotry, nor the selfishness of papal devotion. Paul Bush was our first prelate; he erected the stalls and an episcopal throne; but having taken to himself a wife, he feared the vengeance of Mary, and avoided the flames by resigning his see: he was a learned and good man, well skilled in divinity and physic. Bishop Fletcher, the father of the dramatist, and brother to the ambassador to Muscovy, has been somewhat illiberally censured for his desire to reform the abandoned and ambitious Mary queen of Scots. Such were the learning, talents, and christian virtues of Thomas Westfield, who was promoted to this see in 1641, that even the most sanguinary enemies of episcopacy were reluctantly compelled to reverence the man. John Lake was one of the prelates imprisoned by James II. for petitioning against the declaration in favour of papal idolatry. From the revolution till the present day our see has been blessed with such prelates as Secker, afterwards primate; Dr. Joseph Butler; Dr. John Conybeare, the admired defender of christianity against Tindal, and "one of the most popular preachers of his time, and in his writings, one of the most acute and temperate of reasoners;" Dr. Thomas Newton, the popular expositor of the "Prophecies," and many others perhaps of less literary celebrity, but not less learned and meritorious.

15 Although St. Vincent's Rocks probably derived their name from the Valencian saint Vincent, and were long surmounted with a hermitage, dedicated to the townsman god of the Valencians, yet reason and common sense were never totally extinguished. One word seems adopted, and still used, which may have accompanied the worship of St. Vincent, viz. the term *standing*, as understood in the Bristol fair; it corresponds to the Spanish *estacion*, and particularly in its Valencian sense, and *estacioneros* were stationers or booksellers.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

LENGTH of the Cathedral from west to east 175 feet; of the choir 100; of the transept 132. From the west wall of the tower to the western extremity of the ruined nave about 133 feet. BREADTH of the choir and its aisles 73 feet. HEIGHT of the ceiling 48; of the tower 57 feet. The chapter-house is 46 feet long, and 36 broad; the cloisters were originally 103 feet each.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

- Plate 1*, Is taken from College Green; and shows parts of the Choir, the North Transept and Tower; in the distance appears the Deanery, a handsome building with an embattled parapet.
- Plate 2*. The South-east End of the Cathedral; this part of the building is plain and massive, though it has a window of very delicate tracery.
- Plate 3*, An interior View from the north end of the Transept; the Font appears in the foreground; above is the groining of the lantern; in the distance is shewn a Stone Skreen, over which on the right-hand extremity is a pointed door leading to the consistory court.
- Plate 4*. Entrance to the chapter-house from the cloisters; this is under a fine double arcade of three circular arches, supported by a cluster of columns.
- Plate 5*, A South View of the Cathedral from the palace garden; part of the Palace is seen on the right with the elegant pointed Window belonging to the private chapel.
- Plate 6*, A View from the area of the cloisters, shewing the Tower and South Transept, projecting from which is the western wall of the chapter house, part of its Entrance appears within the cloister.
- Plate 7*. The North Transept and Tower; in the distance is seen part of St. Augustin's Church.
- Plate 8*. The West End; in the large buttments that support the tower, may be seen the Arches (now filled up) which carried on the ancient nave.

BRISTOL.

ABBOTS.

Richard	1148	John de Marina	1276	John Cerne	1388
Philip	1186	Hugh Dodington	1286	John Danbury	1393
John	1196	James Barry	1294	Walter Newbury	1428
John	1215	Edmund Knowle	1306	William Hunt	1463
David	1215	John Snow	1332	John Newland (1)	1481
Wm. de Bradeston	1234	Ralph Aasbe	1341	John Somerset	1515
William Long	1242	William Cooke	1353	William Burton	1533
A. de Malsbury	1264	Henry Shellingford	1363	Morgan Williams	1587

BISHOPS.

Paul Bush	1542	Thomas Howell	1644	Thomas Secker	1734
John Holyman	1554	<i>See Vacant Fourteen Years.</i>		Thomas Gooch	1737
<i>See Vacant Three Years.</i>				Joseph Butler	1738
Richard Cheyney	1562	Gilbert Ironside	1660	John Coneybeare	1750
<i>See Vacant Two Years.</i>		Guy Carleton	1671	John Hume	1758
John Bullingham	1581	William Gulston	1678	Philip Yonge	1758
Richard Fletcher (2)	1589	John Lake	1684	Thomas Newton (3)	1761
<i>See Vacant Ten Years.</i>		J. Trelawney, Bart.	1685	Lewis Bagot	1782
John Thornborough	1603	Gilbert Ironside	1689	Christopher Wilson	1783
Nicholas Felton	1616	John Hall	1691	Spencer Madan	1792
Rowland Searchfield	1618	John Robinson	1710	H. R. Courtenay	1794
Robert Wright	1622	George Smalridge	1714	P. H. W. Cornwall	1797
George Coke	1632	Hugh Boulter	1719	Hon. George Pelham	1802
Robert Skinner	1636	William Bradshaw	1724	John Luxmore	1807
Thomas Westfield	1641	Charles Cecil	1732	W. LORT MANSELL	1808

DEANS.

William Snow	1542	Matthew Nicholas	1639	T. Chamberlayne	1739
John Whitebeare	1551	Henry Glemham	1660	William Warburton	1757
George Carew	1552	Richard Towgood	1667	Samuel Squire	1760
Henry Jolliffe	1554	Samuel Crossman	1683	Francis Ayscough	1761
George Carew	1559	Richard Thompson	1684	Cutts Barton	1763
John Sprint	1570	William Levett	1685	John Hallam	1781
Anthony Watson	1590	George Royse	1693	Charles Peter Layard	1800
Simon Robson	1598	Robert Booth	1708	Bowyer Ed. Sparke	1803
Edward Chetwynd	1617	Samuel Creswicke	1730	JOHN PARSONS	1810

(1) This abbot, whose contributions towards the buildings of the abbey-church have been already noticed, is mentioned by Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i.) as a man of eminent learning, and of so much useful talent, as to have been employed by king Henry VII. in embassies of state.

(2) Bishop Fletcher lived in critical times, and was unfortunate in meeting with the censure of all parties. We have observed that the activity he displayed in an endeavour to convert Mary Queen of Scots, in her last troubled hour, procured him the animadversions of many high-church writers. It is probable that sir John Harrington (*View of the State of the Church in Queen Elizabeth's Time, &c.*) was actuated by unfriendly sentiments, proceeding from such a cause, when he observed that our bishop "took this see, on condition to lease out the revenues to courtiers; which he did in so extravagant a manner that he left little to his successors; inso-much that, after his translation hence to Worcester, A. D. 1695, before he had sat four years, it lay vacant ten years." It is remarkable that he experienced disgrace, and thence fell into a state of melancholy, which is believed to have shortened his life, from the same cause, under a protestant queen, which was so ruinous to Paul Bush, first bishop of Bristol, under the catholic queen Mary.—Both bishops committed the offence of taking a wife; and the "enlightened" Elizabeth was no less indignant on this occasion, than the narrow-minded and severe Mary.

(3) This prelate was born at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, in the year 1705. He received a part of his education at Westminster School, whence he was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge. After entering into orders, in the year 1730, he removed to London, where he became eminent for the eloquence and fervour of his preaching. His first publication was an edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which he dedicated to his friend and patron, the earl of Bath. In this work he appears to have sought merely amusement, and an opportunity of complimenting a nobleman to whom he was indebted for many favours; but more serious literary efforts soon engaged his attention. His "*Dissertations on the Prophecies*," a work which has obtained considerable notice, and displays a great depth of reading, was the labour of many years, although partly formed from sermons delivered from the pulpit. He also published "some Account of his own Life, with Anecdotes of several of his Friends;" and some minor tracts.

(7)

INDEX TO BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

. *The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side ; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.*

Abbots, form of electing one, *g N.* ; list of, *r.*—Arms of Edward the confessor on the north side of the cath. *i.*—Augustin, St. rule observed by the monks of that order, *a N.*

Bacon, beautiful monument executed by, *a.*—Beza, extract from his Hist. Eccles. *p N.*—Bristol, inhabitants of, celebrated for their love of trade, *b* ; scarcely excelled by the Venetians, *ib.* ; its ecclesiastical history commences in the year 1140, *c* ; besieged by general Fairfax, *k.*—Butler, bishop, rebuilds the palace, *i N.* ; discovers a dungeon beneath the walls, *ib.* ; calumniated for putting the figure of a cross in the chapel, *p* ; defended by bishop Halifax, *ib.*—Bishops, list of, *r.*—Bones, human, discovered beneath the palace, *i N.*—Brutality of the soldiers under gen. Fairfax, *k N.*—Bush, Paul, the first prelate, erects a seat for the bishop, *i* ; which bears his arms, *ib.*—Bells, the four smallest, cast under the direction of abbot Newland, *m* ; five of them said to have been stolen, *ib.*

Cabot, Sebastian, the real discoverer of America, *o N.* a native of Bristol, *ib.*—Candlesticks, two presented to the church by J. Ramsey, esq. *i.*—Choir finished by abbot Elliot, *m.*—Coke, William, elected abbot, *g N.*—Chapter-house, considered by bishop Lyttleton to be of true Saxon workmanship, *d N.* ; its ornamental arches like those of St. Nicholas at Warwick, *k.*—Church dedicated by Simon bishop of Worcester, Robert bishop of Exeter, Geoffry bishop of Landaff, and Gilbert bishop of St. Asaph, *d.*—Conybeare, Dr. John, the defender of Christianity against Tindal, *q.*—Concubines, six, kept by Morgan Guillam, the last abbot, *i.*—College Green, now a fashionable promenade, *m* ; formerly the burial place of the monastery, *ib.*

Debt, heavy one incurred by the abbey, *m.*—Dungeon discovered under the walls of the palace, *i N.*—Dublin, city of, granted to the citizens of Bristol, *e N.*—Deans, list of, *r.*—Diocese said to contain 256 churches and chapels. *k.*—Draper, Mrs. Elizabeth, the celebrated Eliza of Sterne, *m* ; interred in the cathedral, *a.*—Dimensions of the cathedral, *q.*

Edward II. imprisoned at Bristol, *b N.*—Edward III. grants a charter for erecting Bristol into an independent county, *e N.*—Elton, captain, mural monument to the memory of, *p.*

Fitzharding, lord of Berkeley, one of the founders of the cathedral. *c* ; his tomb in the Lady's Chapel, *a.*—Foster, Nathaniel, D. D. editor of the Hebrew Bible without points, *o* ; tribute to his memory in the chancel, *ib.*—Fletcher, bishop, father of the dramatist, *q* ; illiberally censured for his desire to reform Mary queen of Scots, *ib.*

Gloucester, Robert, earl of, a native of Bristol, *o N.* ; friend and patron of W. Malmesbury, *ib.*—Guillam, Morgan, the last abbot, *i* ; supposed by Fuller and Speed to have kept six concubines, *ib.*

Harold sails from Bristol to invade Wales, *a.*—Harding, Mr. possessed of immense riches, *c* ; one of the founders of St. Augustin's monastery, *ib.*—Henry VIII. grants a patent

for the erection of the diocese of Bristol, *i.*—Hunt, abbot, rebuilds the roof of the church and aisles, *k* ; causes the lead to be new cast, *ib.*

Knowles, abbot, commences the re-edification of the church, *k* ; buried at the north wall, *ib.*

Lake, John, one of the prelates imprisoned by James II. *q.*—Lyttleton, bishop, his account of the style and dates of erecting this cathedral, *k.*

Mary, queen, five men burnt during her reign, *p.*—Monasteries, none known in Bristol before the twelfth century, *b.*—Monks, greater part of those belonging to the cathedrals in England were of the Benedictine order, *a N.*—Mason, Mrs. wife of the poet, monument to her memory, *o.*—Marriage, freedom of, granted to the citizens, *a.*—Monuments, most remarkable ones in the cathedral, *a, e, and p.*

Nave destroyed at the reformation, *k.*—Newton, Dr. Thomas, expositor of the "Prophecies," *q.*—Nicholas, church of St. given to the monastery, *f.*—Newland, abbot John, author of a history of the monastery of St. Augustin, *d.*

Organ, built at the expense of the dean and chapter, *i*, new case made, *ib.*—Orange, prince of, congratulated by bishop Trelawney, *p.*

Paintings of the twelve minor prophets, *i.*—Pulpit, one of stone, erected by bishop Wright, *i.*—Plates, description of, *q.*—Privileges, very extensive, granted to the citizens, *e N.*—Protestants, abuse of, by pope Gregory, *p N.*

Ramsey, John, gives a pair of large silver candlesticks, *i.*—Refectory, converted into a prebendal-house, *c.*—Rose, white, between the windows of transept, *m.*—Robinson, Mrs. Mary, her account of the ferocity of the army under gen. Fairfax, *k.*

Smallridge, bishop, repairs the palace, *i.*—Soldiers, guilty of the most wanton outrages, *i N.* ; unroof the room in which the bishop's lady was confined in child-bed, *ib.*—Seat erected for the bishop by Paul Bush, *i.*—Stowe, a native of Bristol, *o N.*—Slaves, trade in, *b N.*—Spenser, Hugh, drawn and quartered alive, by order of Queen Isabella, *b N.*—Somerset, abbot, arms of, over the door, *m.*—Superstition never obtained complete ascendancy in Bristol, *p.*—Spark, Edward, burnt for his attachment to the protestant faith, *p.*

Thirond, Jean, a protestant advocate, beheaded at Toulouse, *p N.*—Trinity, emblematic painting of, by Van Someren, *m.*—Trelawney, bishop, congratulates the prince of Orange, *p.*

Vestry built by abbot Knowle, *m.*

Windows, description of, *i* ; said to have been an expiatory gift to the church by Nell Gwyn, *ib.*—Wotton, church of, granted to the monastery, *k.*—Wright, Thomas, receiver-general to the chapter, *i.*—Westfield, bishop, revered by the most sanguinary enemies of episcopacy, *q.*

Yearley, Mrs. the poetical milk-woman, *o N.*



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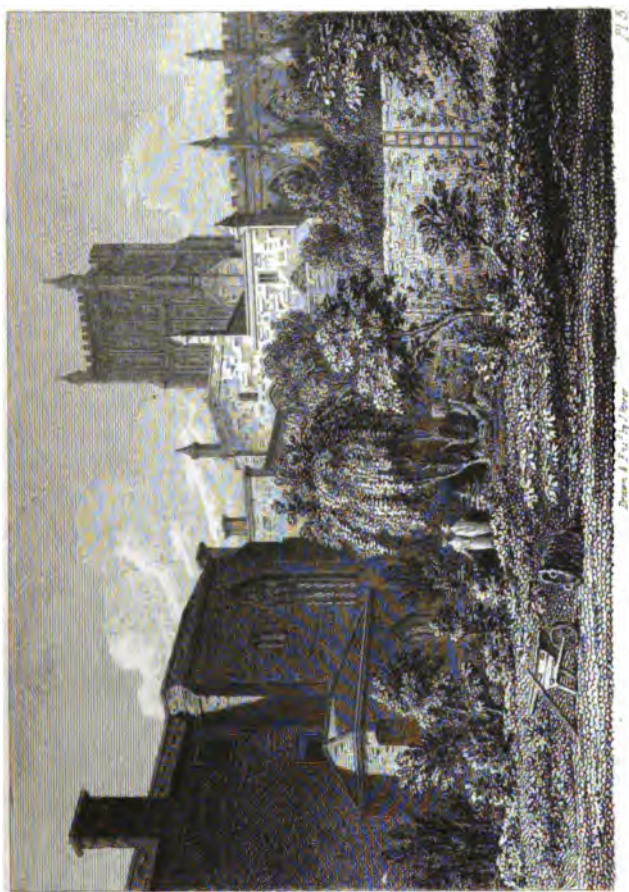


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Entrance to the Cathedral House, Bristol Cathedral.

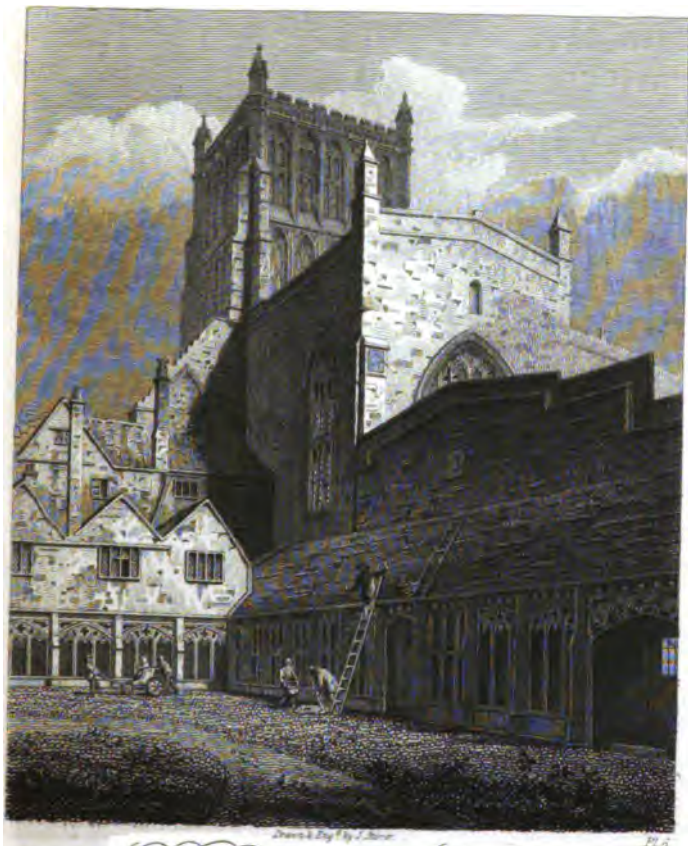
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213

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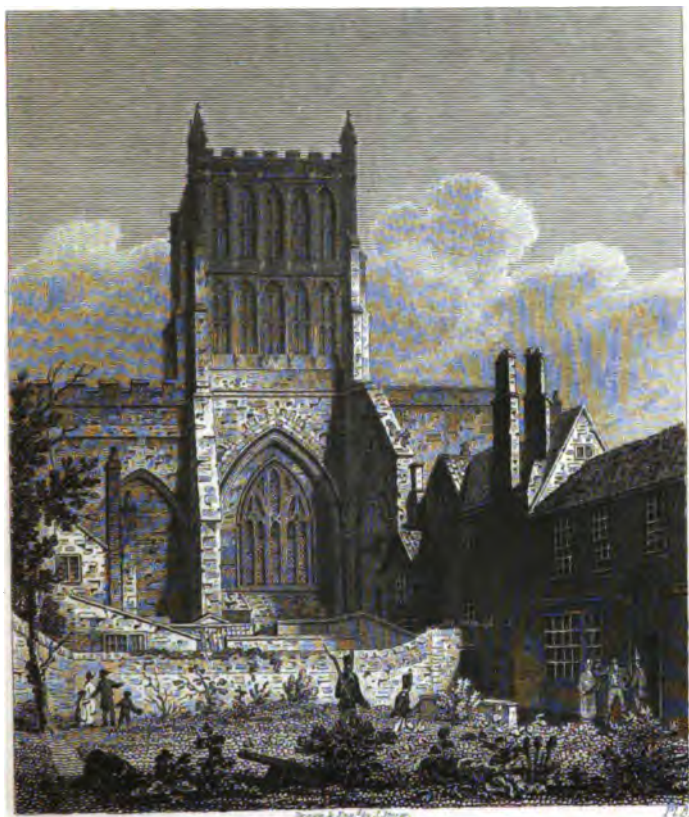
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This Plate is cheerfully inscribed by
His Lordship's humble, Servant, J. B. G. & Co.



West End of Bristol Cathedral.

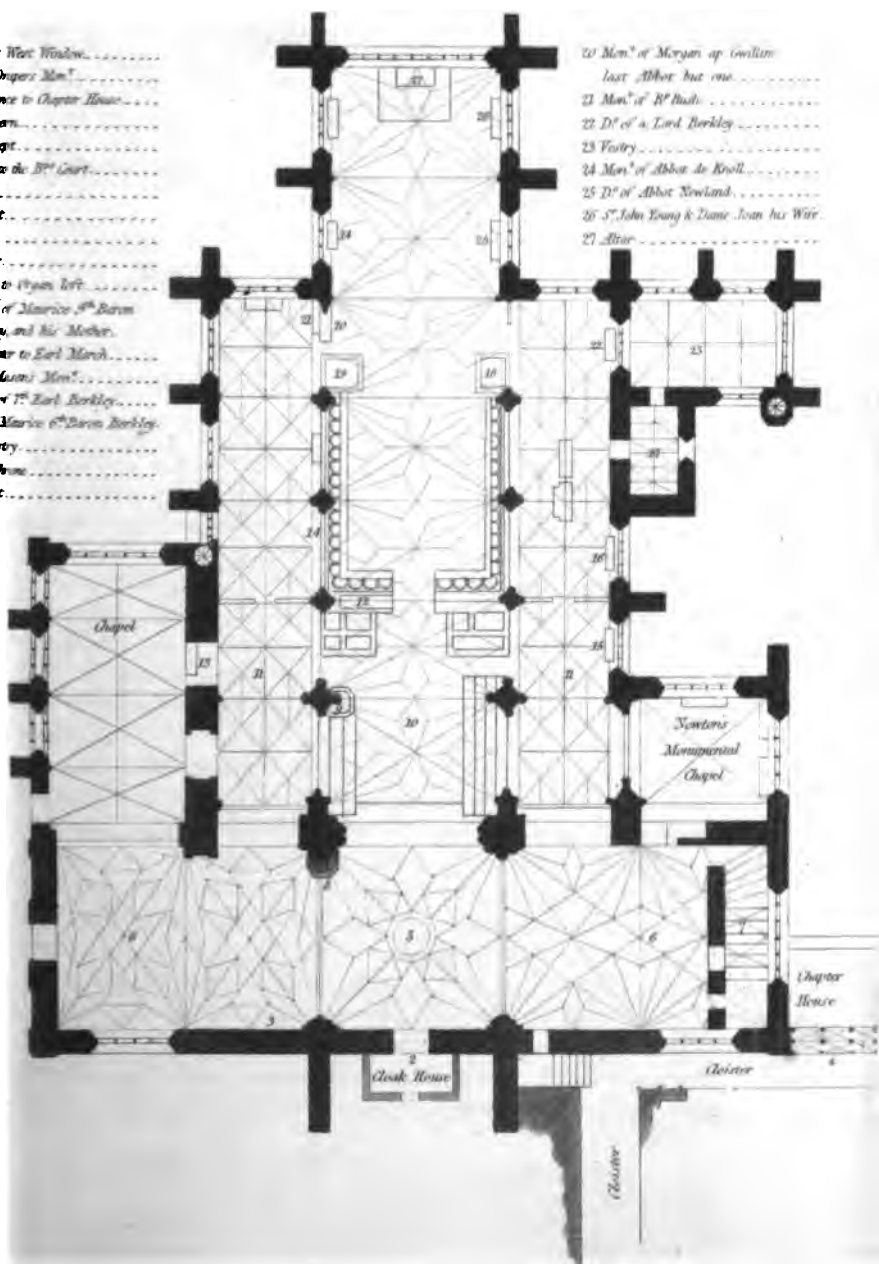
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BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

Shewing the grouping of the Roof.

- 2 Great West Window.
- 3 *M^r Draper's Mon.*
- 4 Entrance to Chapter House.
- 5 *Lochan*
- 6 *Transept*
- 7 *Way to the B^p's Court*
- 8 Font.
- 9 *Pulpit*
- 10 *Choir*
- 11 *Aisles*
- 12 *Steps to Organ Loft*
- 13 *Mon. of Maurice 4th Baron Berkeley, and his Mother.*
- 14 *Daughter to Earl March.*
- 15 *M^r Mason's Mon.*
- 16 *Mon. of T^h Earl Berkeley.*
- 17 *D^t of Maurice 6th Baron Berkeley.*
- 18 *Sacristy*
- 19 *B^p's Throne*
- 20 *Pulpit*

- 21 *Mon. of Morgan ap Gwilim last Abbot but one.*
- 22 *Mon. of R^p Bado.*
- 23 *D^t of a Lord Berkeley.*
- 24 *Transept*
- 25 *Mon. of Abbot de Knoll.*
- 26 *D^t of Abbot Newland.*
- 27 *S^t John Young & Dame Joan his Wife.*
- 28 *Altar*



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 Feet

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Canterbury.

RELIGION, science, and civilization, have found an asylum in Canterbury, since the earliest records of our island. Without entering into the vague allegations of tradition, it is sufficient that a populous and civilized city existed here before the Christian era. It was found a place of consequence at the Roman invasion*, and by the Romans called *Durovernum*†. The Britons denominated it *Cair* or *Caer Kent*, the city of Kent, and the Saxons, *Cantwara-byrig*, and *Cantwara-thic*, the Kentish men's city, court, or borough. These appellations indicate its importance as the capital of the province or kingdom. It is equally known as one of the first places in which Christianity found adherents in this country. By whom, indeed, or in what particular year it was favoured with the light of the gospel, it is now vain to inquire. In the apostolic age the diffusion of religious knowledge, not the extension of personal celebrity, was the sole object of the holy and good men chosen to disseminate the doctrines of Christ; hence we find so few records of the early propagators of our religion, compared with those of the moderns, who not unfrequently evince themselves soldiers as zealous after the "bubble reputation," as the exemplification of Christian piety. It is then immaterial ‡ who were the first teachers of christianity in our island, whether our church was planted by St. Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, or king Lucius, it is enough that all historians concur in proving the existence of Christian temples in Canterbury dur-

* See Gale on Roman Stations, Archaeologia, vol. i. p. 187.

† Camden supposes this name to be derived from *Dur-whera*, a rapid river; Leland from *Dur-awona*, the river water; Lambard from *Dur-ar-guerne*, river near the fen or marsh. That it had a British name prior to the visit of *Julius Caesar*, there cannot be a doubt, however etymologists may now be unable to determine it. By Bede and subsequent writers, it was called *Dorovernia*, or *Dorobernia*.

‡ The question by whom was Christianity first taught in Britain, is very impartially discussed in a long note to Mosheim's Commentaries, translated by Vidal. It is there proved very satisfactorily, we might almost say demonstrated, that whoever first made the Britons Christians, it could not be by any act or influence of the bishops of Rome.

ing the domination of the Romans: it is equally certain, that immense numbers of Britons fell victims to their religious faith, and several historians estimate that the British Christians were decimated during the Roman persecutions. The faithful of Canterbury, doubtless, participated in the fate of their countrymen; yet, as capital cities are generally the best places of security during commotions, it seems probable that a sufficient number of believing citizens survived the carnage, to form here at least one, if not two, visible churches. Tradition, which oftener magnifies than creates where there is no selfish motive to direct it, speaks of two places dedicated to Christian worship, prior to the days of Augustine; these were afterwards designated by the names of St. Pancrace and St. Martin*. The latter, in the suburbs of the city, was occupied as a Christian chapel by queen Berhta, or Bertha, a daughter of the king of Soissons†. Ethelbert, king of Kent, having married this Christian princess, she stipulated for the free exercise of her own religion, and was accompanied to this country by bishop Luidhard, as chaplain. "Here, therefore," as truly observed by a judicious native writer, "was a Christian church and congregation settled, with a queen and her chaplain Luidhard, bishop of Soissons, at the head of it, before St. Augustine and his monks made their appearance in England in 597, and hither (as Mr. Somner tells us from Bede), did he and his fellow-labourers resort to their devotions at their first arrival, by the licence of king Ethelbert in favour of his queen."

The story of the "Advent" of Augustine, his journey from Rome, after much trepidation and "lingering looks behind;" his progress through France, arrival in the isle of Thanet, hospitable reception from king Ethelbert, his entry into Canterbury, successful proselytism, visit to France to be consecrated bishop, return to his newly-erected see in the capital of the kingdom, and his whole ecclesiastical or episcopal life, have all been so often repeated, so long the subject of thoughtless admiration, or injudicious censure, that few of these incidents merit attention in the present history. That Augustine was not the first propagator of Christianity even in Kent, must be allowed by his greatest admirers; that Ethelbert was disposed to this faith previous to the arrival of the Romish missionaries in his dominions, is equally

* "This, says Gostling, and another church where our cathedral now stands, are supposed to have been built by the Christians of the Roman soldiery, in the second century, and the time of Lucius, the first Christian king, who lived in 182, so that it is looked on as one of the oldest structures of that kind, still in constant use now in the kingdom; and, indeed, nothing appears in the materials or architecture to contradict this opinion, for its walls seem to be built (those of the chancel at least) entirely of Roman bricks (those infallible marks of antiquity), and the structure is the most simple that is possible." Walk, &c. p. 25.

† Some writers call her the daughter of Chilperic and Fredegonda, two of the very worst characters in history; others with more truth pronounce her the daughter of Clothaire and Branchild.

certain; and it seems more than probable, that the mild and pious Luidhard, with queen Berta, would have effected all, and perhaps much more than Augustine did in favour of religion, had this messenger of "the servant of the servants of God" never set a foot in our island. Christianity had then many followers in Canterbury, and it should always be remembered, that religious faith is to be estimated rather by the exalted purity, than the number* of its adherents. Augustine indeed and his companions, Laurentius, Mellitus, &c. exhibited somewhat of an imposing character; they made a public entry into Canterbury, preceded by a large silver cross, borne, says Bede, as a banner, and not for adoration, (*pro vexillo non pro adoratione*). Such a procession could not fail to create public attention, and when it was received by the queen and allowed by the court, necessarily attracted many followers. Multitudes were baptized, and received a knowledge of the Christian faith. The nation had attained a respectable state of civilization, consequently the Scandinavian mythology could no longer influence the public mind. The moment was propitious for disseminating the gospel. Gregory seems to have known it, as he accuses the British bishops with being lukewarm and indifferent in the cause of conversion.† To Gregory, indeed, much more praise is due than to his missionaries. This Roman bishop possessed a most comprehensive, liberal, and truly Christian mind, as appears by his letters and his directions to Augustine‡. The latter, although a man of some learning, was manifestly deficient in that benevolent spirit, that conciliatory benignity, which in the expression of St. Paul, becomes "all things to all men." We are, however, far from accusing him of the foul massacre of the priests of Bangor and other British Christians; but it is unquestionable, that instead of courting their friendship, of soliciting their aid, he sternly quarrelled with them about mere punctilios, frivolous rites and ceremonies, unknown to, and therefore rejected by the British Christians. The superior mind of Gregory would have embraced them as true brothers, identified himself with them, and lead them by his Christian toleration to the same celestial goal,

* Modern France and the United States of America furnish an example of the necessity of this distinction: in both countries the people are all reputed Christians, yet it is to be feared that the great majority of them, particularly the French, are totally destitute of any religious sentiment or feeling, and the mere slaves of infidelity and superstition.

† See his Epistles, translated by Elatob, in the English Saxon Homily.

‡ His truly apostolic answer to Augustines's bigotted inquiry respecting a conformity with the modes of the Roman church, is worthy of being recorded as an example to his less Christian successors. "I am of opinion, that whether in the Roman church, or in those of France, or in any other church, you shall have discovered any thing that may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should carefully make choice of it, and infuse into the English church, which is yet but new in the faith, by a particular appointment, whatsoever out of many churches you have been able to collect. Things are not to be valued for the places whence they come. Therefore, out of the several churches, whatsoever things are pious, religious, and just, these make choice of, and these collected fix in the minds of the English, that they may grow into practice."

without using one of the menaces or curses of Augustine. It is but too evident, notwithstanding the ingenious defence of Mrs. Elstob and Capt. Hastings*, that Augustine was more elated with his own success, and particularly with his power after obtaining the pall†, than humbled by a pious Christian sense of his own unworthiness, as the instrument of propagating divine truth. Of this Gregory's letters and friendly admonitions to him furnish ample testimony; at the same time they prove that the Roman pontiff possessed some correct knowledge of human nature. To save souls, to multiply believers, by whatever means, seemed the sole object and desire of Gregory: to fix and establish a determinate hierarchy, occupied more of Augustine's thoughts. In the course of six years, which he is reported to live after his arrival in our city, he founded a monastery, built churches, went to France, and was consecrated archbishop: returned, and consecrated a bishop of Rochester, and another of London; met a council of the British bishops in Worcestershire, and attempted to force on them a new

* See Preface to the English Saxon Homily, by E. Elstob, and Vestiges of Antiquity in Canterbury and its Environs, by T. Hastings, esq. a gentleman of no ordinary talents as an artist.

† The pall, so called from *pallium*, a cloak, according to Collier, was originally a rich robe of state, peculiar to the imperial rank, till the emperors gave the patriarchs leave to wear it. The bishop of Rome with this, as with every other regal distinction, gradually obtained the power of conferring it on others; and pope Vigilius, it appears in 534, refused to confer it on the archbishop of Arles, until he had obtained the emperor's permission. The Gallican church had a pall independent of Rome, till 742, when pope Zachary got a canon passed that all Christendom should henceforward own the church of Rome as the centre of communion, and live in subjection to Peter's see, and that the metropolitans should apply to Rome for their palls, and pay a canonical obedience to St. Peter's injunctions. From this period the rich pall was laid aside, the popes thought a less costly badge of subjection to them might do as well, and substituted a strip or list of white woollen cloth, about as broad as a garter, adorned with crosses, and hanging on the shoulders with a piece of the same stuff reaching towards the ground before and behind. This trifling thing, unworthy the name of an ornament, was obtained by no little labour and expense, petitioning vehemently and paying liberally, generally to the amount of 3000 florins, worth 4s. 6d. each. Even when it was thus dearly bought, the archbishop was confined to wear it only on certain solemn occasions, the privilege of constant use being reserved to his papal holiness. The reader, humourously observes Gostling, "will wonder how such a trinket could bear such an extravagant price, till he is informed that it was declared to be taken from the body of St. Peter, which, to be sure, rendered it of great value. The pope, having assumed the monopoly of it, decreed that the purchaser might not exercise the power and office, or even assume the title of archbishop, till he had received this badge of the fulness of his authority, or rather of dependence on and obedience to the pope, to whom, on receiving it, he bound himself by a solemn oath, always to defend, consult, and support his holiness, and to make no alteration in the property of the see without the Roman pontiff's permission!" (See Battely's *Cantuar. Sacra*). When the archbishop died this pall was to be buried with him; but whether for his use in the other world, or to prevent his successor from using it without paying the fees, the papists have left to heretical conjecture. Another instance of papal blasphemy is worthy of recording, respecting a pastoral staff, which evinces the idolatrous arrogance of Rome. The staff was placed in the archbishop's hands by a monk commissioned by the prior and convent of Canterbury, with these words: "Reverend father, I am sent to you from the *sovereign prince of the world*, who requires and commands you to undertake the government of his church, and to love and protect her; and in proof of my orders I deliver you the standard of the king of heaven!" After this the pall was presented to him thus: "To the honour of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, our Lord Pope A. the holy Roman church, and also of the holy church of Canterbury committed to their charge, we [the commissioned bishops] give you the pall taken from the body of St. Peter, a full authority for the exercise of your archiepiscopal function; with the liberty of wearing this honourable distinction in your cathedral upon certain days mentioned in the apostolic bulls of privileges."

church discipline, besides working many miracles, which we have too much respect for his memory to mention,—and all in this short period. As a Christian missionary, he was too impetuous and dogmatic; as a soldier, too feeble-bodied to effect a revolution in society: he shrewdly observed the necessity of uniting political with spiritual power, but he was too ignorant of the human mind*, too little imbued with the spirit of that holy religion which he professed, to give permanency to his principles and institutions. Accordingly, we find that the successors of Ethelbert not only apostatized, but acted in many respects worse than the veriest pagans, who never heard of the gospel. Of Ethelbert himself we say nothing. The disciples and followers of the apostles acted very differently: their meekness and their virtues insured them respect and the most steady friendship, while those of Augustine incurred the most determined opposition, and perpetrated the most unpardonable and most sanguinary atrocities. To say, with the Augustinians, that the massacre of the British Christians was an evidence of divine vengeance, for their opposition to the system proposed by the Romish missionaries, is to add blasphemy to murder.

Thus far it seemed necessary to notice the conduct and principles of Augustine† and his immediate followers, as affecting the character of our national faith and manners. As to the miracles ascribed to him since his death, and the pretended revelations to his monastery, we shall not imitate Gibbon by repeating them in order to depreciate the character of this Christian missionary. Neither can we notice the numerous reported translations of his bones, the fabricated inscriptions said to be found on his coffin, the spurious charters alleged to be granted to his monastery by king Ethelbert, all of which are worthy only of a superstitious and ignorant age! Augustine‡ died in Jan. 604 (some allege 611), and was succeeded by Lawrence, a Roman,

* Hence we find one of the best tests of revealed truth. The more the doctrines taught in the scriptures are examined, the more minutely they are investigated, with all the aid of modern science, the more profound and consonant they appear with the laws of our physical and moral nature. The extension of science indeed has furnished additional evidence of their divine origin, and as men improve their knowledge of the material world, their reverence and respect for the revealed moral laws increase, as exemplified in Newton. On the contrary, the diffusion of physical knowledge has banished all the impostors and false workers of miracles from civilized society.

† One specimen of the marvellous deserves attention, as related by Sprott. So late as 1284 it was determined to search for his remains, and after the usual ceremonies of fasting, praying, &c. they were partly discovered in a leaden vessel seven feet long, made in 1091, bearing an inscription, "this lead contains part of the dust of the body of the blessed Augustine." Near it were found many precious relics, as some of the hairs of the blessed Virgin Mary, a part of the seamless coat, a piece of the pillar to which our Lord was tied and whipped, &c.; and as "it had been revealed by a *threefold revelation* that Augustine's glorious body should be found in *three* different places, the truth of which was afterwards made manifest, so now our lord Hugh III, abbot, and the convent by *divine inspiration*, caused his body to be honourably deposited in three places."

‡ "Whose whole story," says Somner "is become so trite and vulgar that it needs no repetition."

who was ordained previous to the death of his predecessor, in order to protect the infant church. The zeal of this prelate greatly surpassed his prudence; and his attempts to force the Scotch Christians to adopt the Roman ritual, were as abortive as those of Augustine on the Britons; in return, they obstinately refused to hold any communication* with those who differed from them in religious ceremonies. Lawrence introduced monks into the monastery of Christ Church, that of St. Augustine, being afterwards completed by Ethelbert. Kings Ethelbert† and Sebert, both dying about the same period, 616, their sons and successors apostatized from the Christian faith, and embraced all the extravagance and vices of paganism. Mellitus bishop of London, and Justus bishop of Rochester, despairing of success, in the most dastardly manner fled the country. Lawrence was preparing to follow them, and abandon that church which Augustine had established with much more speciousness than solidity, when St. Peter appeared to him one night, reprimanded him for leaving his flock, and gave him with his own hands such a flogging, that the chastised bishop went the next morning to king Eadwald, exhibited his naked shoulders with the effects of his scourging, and told his majesty how he had received it. This flogging miracle produced the desired effect; the apostate monarch immediately repented, again became a Christian, and continued so during the remainder of his life; nor did this miracle require any extraordinary faith in Eadwald, as the most learned heathens in the most enlightened ages believe many things much more absurd and incredible. Poor Lawrence, however, says Harpsfield, did not long survive this castigation, and died in 619.

Mellitus, who had been so successful in converting the East Saxons, after a year's absence, returned to his flock, but could never again get possession of his see. He retired to Canterbury, and succeeded Lawrence. Mellitus was a native of Rome, said to be of noble extraction, and represented by Bede as very pious, having quenched a fire in our city by his prayers. The same historian says, he had a feeble body but a strong mind, yet his conduct furnishes no evidence of the latter. He died of the gout in 624. Justus, bishop of Rochester, was our next prelate: he was very sedulous in diffusing the gospel, and died, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 627, to Bede 630. He was suc-

* See Bromton, Chron. Sax. &c.

† Ethelbert was buried in the porch of St. Martin's church, which, according to Lambard, was a bishop's see from the time of archbishop Theodore to Lanfranc, about 349 years. The rank and duties of this bishop have been the subject of some controversy; one considering him only as performing the part of archdeacon, another that of a *chorepiscopus*, a kind of country suffragan, an order which was abolished in foreign countries. The bishop of St. Martin's, however, supplied the place of the archbishop, who generally attended the court, and superintended the monks. Lanfranc, finding the see vacant, refused to consecrate another, and it has been erroneously said substituted an archdeacon in his place.

ceeded by Honorius, a disciple of Gregory, who filled the see many years, and has been reported the first who divided the country into parishes. This however has been disproved by Selden. He engaged warmly in the Pelagian controversy, which was revived in his time, and died in 654. In 655 the first native, a West Saxon, called *Deus-dedit*, or *Adeodatus* (i. e. God sent), but whose real name was Trithona, ascended the archiepiscopal chair. He was a man of so great piety, learning, and virtue, that he unanimously obtained the above appellation, as most characteristic of his life and manners. He died in 664. The see was afterwards vacant near four years, when Damianus (called also Wigard), a South Saxon, was consecrated bishop. He went to Rome, with letters from the kings of Kent and Northumberland, for his pall, and died there of the plague. This circumstance afforded pope Vitalian an opportunity of personally consecrating a new archbishop of Canterbury. He accordingly offered the pall to abbot Adrian, a Carthaginian, and Andrew a monk, both of whom refused it. The former, however, recommended Theodore, a Greek of Tarsus, in Cilicia, as a proper person. Theodore was in his sixty-sixth year, and in 668 was consecrated by the pope. He was detained at Rome four months, till his hair grew to make a crown; for being a Greek he was shaved: the pope gave him the tonsure, and consecrated him; but so jealous was Vitalian of his principles, that it is said he sent Adrian as a monitor with him to Britain, lest he should introduce the customs of the Greek church. Hence commenced the prelacy of one of the greatest men which ever graced an episcopal throne. The monks and papists have artfully vilified his memory, some by their praises*, others by their censures; but it is to the great Theodore that Britons have to be grateful for the blessings of the gospel; he transferred Christianity from the lips to the heads and hearts of our countrymen; he introduced no works of supererogation, no idle ceremonies; but made learning and science, as they always ought to be, and naturally are, the handmaids of religion; he was neither the slave nor the fautor of the Greek or Roman church, but the firm adherent of the church of Christ. To diffuse knowledge and piety, to awe the wicked and cherish the good, to exalt religion by enlightening and improving its votaries, to meliorate the condition of his species, to adore and magnify the names of his Creator and Saviour, were the chief objects and

* He has been complimented, or rather accused, of introducing the odious ceremony of auricular confession; but Egbert, archbishop of York, has fully acquitted him of this foul imputation; he did, however, introduce that general public confession previous to receiving the sacrament, which is still retained in the service of the church to the present day, and forms one of its most beautiful and most efficient characters of genuine piety, Christian humility, and mental devotion.

glory of his advanced life. "He changed," says Innet*, after Bede, "the whole face of the Saxon church, and did more towards enlarging the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury than all his predecessors." He might have added, that he did more to establish Christianity on an immutable basis in this country than any prelate since the apostolic age. Heterodox notions and lax discipline prevailing to a dangerous extent, he held a synod at Herutford (Hertford) in 673, where he presented the British bishops with a book of canons, which received their hearty approbation; and by the grandeur of his mind and benignity of his manner, gained the esteem and deference of every pious man in the country. In 680 he held another synod at *Haethfeld* to investigate the *Monothelites*. In the disputes of bishop Wilfred he was no less active; and when this bigot of the papal church appealed to Rome, a thing then equally novel and ludicrous, the court very properly laughed at him, and Theodore treated his Roman authority with the utmost contempt †, maintaining the judicious decrees of the councils, that "all controversies should be settled in the provinces where they arose, and that the authority of the metropolitans should be final and unappealable ‡."

The bishops of Rome, indeed, had not then assumed any superior power; they had never expected nor received any greater respect or authority than what necessarily attached to their reputation for learning and piety; hence the right to appeals was never conceived by them; and when appealed to, their decisions, as in the present instance, passed for nought. Theodore evidently acted, and felt himself perfectly independent §; he owed no obedience in spiritual matters to any power but that of heaven; loyal to his adopted sovereign, faithful to his conscience, zealous in the diffusion of divine truth, he called synods, deposed inefficient priests, consecrated bishops, and founded schools throughout the kingdoms. In the diocese of Wilfred he consecrated bishops Bosa of York, Eata of Hexham, Edhed of Lindsey, Trumberth of Hagulstad, and Cuthbert of Lindisfarn; instituted or restored, say Florence and Dicet, the bishoprics of Worcester, Lichfield, Leogerensem, and Dorchester. It has been observed, that he had "a bold and overbearing temper ||;" but with more truth that he "possessed the spirit of government ¶." He instituted schools,

* Bede, l. 4. *Origines Anglicanæ*.

† Baronius is greatly embarrassed to reconcile this conduct with Gregory's injunctions, and the supposed supremacy of the Romish see, and absolutely fabricates for him a legantine authority.

‡ *Origines Anglicanæ*.

§ See Dart's *Antiq. Cant.* Had he ever promised either directly or indirectly any obedience to the see of Rome, he would not have rejected the decree of the Roman synod respecting Wilfred, but unquestionably have obeyed it; yet no such thing appears: the idea of obedience is entirely modern, compared to the days of Theodore.

|| *Origin. Angl.*

(h)

¶ *Ant. Cant.*

we should rather say colleges, in Canterbury, in other parts of Kent, and at Cricklade, near Oxford, where he and abbot Adrian "drew together large numbers of students, to whom they read lectures on divinity, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and sacred music." Hence, as Birchington observes, he justly received the title *Magnus*. Such indeed was their extraordinary success in teaching, that the venerable Bede, a cotemporary and most respectable authority, assures us, that "many of their scholars were able to speak Greek and Latin with the readiness and fluency of their mother tongue." Among their pupils were Tobias bishop of Rochester, a *vir doctissimus*, Ostforus, or Ostfor, bishop of Worcester, Aldhelm bishop of Shireburne, a poet, and John of Beverly, archbishop of York. Of Theodore himself, a man no less learned than a friend to learning, there remained of all his writings only his *Penitential*, which has been considered a model of that kind of composition. Being advanced in years, he gave an example of Christian forgiveness, by sending for Wilfred, and offering him his friendship. His life, indeed, was a happy practical illustration of his religious principles; imitating the energy of St. Paul and the benevolent meekness of St. John, he directed our countrymen to the paths of both temporal and eternal happiness. To his memory we owe respect and gratitude; he brought into our island a most invaluable library of Greek * and Latin books, with several copies of the Scriptures, which happily survived the wreck of ages; he planted among us the language of the gospels, and sowed those seeds both of divine and human learning, which, under the blessing of Providence, have grown and flourished in our country, have exalted our religion, and consequently our morality, expanded our minds, embellished them with science, and added to our physical enjoyments the comforts of the arts. Those who unfortunately cannot relish the animated pious effusions of St. Chrysostom (which would have equally served religion and virtue, had they been less severe on women), may at least respect the man who brought the *vera elephas* of Homer to our shores. In the time and by the exertions of Theodore, observes Malmesbury, learning so flourished in our island, that from "being a nursery (or nation) of tyrants, it became a peculiar seminary of philosophy." The present age bears ample evidence of the benign effects of Theodore's wisdom; the lessons of piety and learning which he left us may have been suppressed but were never annihilated; his example, contrary to that of all papal states, rendered religion and science inseparable friends, and from their peculiar union both have

* The copies of Homer, David's Psalms, and Chrysostom's Homilies brought by Theodore, were still extant at the beginning of the last century.

flourished in our country to an extent which it might seem presumptuous or invidious to contrast with other nations. The human mind, indeed, is not a plant that buds, flowers, and decays in a summer's sun ; it requires the lapse of ages to develope its full powers, to convert the savage into the civilized man. This should teach us the value of education. Even in our city of Canterbury, the disinterested observer will recognize traces of that mellow maturity, which sufficiently indicates the happy effects of early civilization. For this we are deeply indebted to our good archbishop Theodore, who being old and full of days, expired in his eighty-eighth year, on the 19th September 690*.

To the illustrious Theodore, the first truly protestant archbishop, we felt bound to pay our grateful tribute, convinced that if St. Paul, did not preach the gospel in our island, his townsman extended its influence and identified it with our soil. It is in vain that monks and friars have laboured to make him a papist, his learning and Christian piety had no affinity with idolatry, and his religious principles have descended unalloyed to Wickliffe, Greathead, Cranmer, and the present day. The see of Canterbury remained vacant till Brichtwald, Brithwald, or Berthwald, abbot of Reculver †, a learned Englishman, was elected in July 692. This prelate, although lost in the splendor of his great predecessor, was nevertheless an enlightened and good man, well versed, says Bede, in the scriptures, a decided enemy to papal influence, and a strict observer of religious duties. In 694 king Withred, at his instance, convened a council at *Beccanchild*, now *Bapchild*, for securing the church privileges and hierarchy without the interference of the civil power. Another was held at *Berghamstead*, where some arrangements were made respecting adultery. The case of Wilfred was also revived, and a synod deprived him of all his revenues, except the abbey of Rippon, when he again appealed to Rome, returned with the Pope's letters, had another synod called, which being overruled by an old woman, abbess Elfred, sister of king Alkfrid, Wilfred was reinstated. Brithwald is said to have held a council at London, respecting clerical celibacy and image-worship ; but the whole is now admitted to be an infamous forgery. This archbishop occupied the see above thirty-eight years, and died in 731. Lamhard very properly corrects Polydore, who states Brithwald to be the first native who aspired to this archiepiscopal see. Tatwine ‡, a Mercian, immediately succeeded

* Bede, l. 5. Theodorus, beatus memorie archiepiscopus senex & plenus dierum, id est annorum octoginta et octo, defunctus est. The life of this eminent prelate with that of his disciples, is a subject worthy the pen of some man of learning and talents, who consults the good of society, and permanent rather than temporary fame.

† See *Duncombe's Reculver* ; *Nichols's Bibliothec. Topograp. Britan.*

‡ Osbern calls him a monk of *Boardestry*, Diocet a presbyter at *Brendune*, and Bede, who knew him and died nearly at the same time of Tatwine, calls him a presbyter of *Briodun* monastery.

him ; he was an able theologian and wise prelate, who wrote on both sacred and prophane subjects ; some of his poems and enigmas are still extant. He died in 734. Nothelm, a Londoner, was consecrated in 735, and died in 741 ; he assisted Bede in his history, particularly in what concerned Augustin, and the conversion of Kent, and was a prelate of great piety and learning. Pit, but without authority, says he wrote the life of St. Austin, some homilies and epistles to Bede and Alcuinus. Cuthbert, said to be of honourable descent, was next consecrated archbishop ; he, we are told, imported the privilege by papal sanction of burying in church-yards, instead of the outside of cities, the road sides, in cemeteries, or sleeping places ; but all the archbishops had been previously buried in St Augustine's, and the custom was gradually becoming general. In 747 he held the famous synod at Cliff, near Rochester, to restrain clerical licentiousness, and died in 758, after a reign of fifteen years, according to one historian, and of seventeen according to others. He was the first prelate of this see, who favoured the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and in return has been extolled by Malmsbury and the monks ; yet with his last breath he caused a deception to be practised on the Augustinians, by directing himself to be privately buried in the cathedral *, and not in their monastery : Brecwine, or Bregwine, who died in 762, was his successor. According to Bromton, his name was Lizegwinus, and said to be descended from a noble family in Saxony ; but it seems more probable that he was a native of Canterbury †, being celebrated for his singular modesty and piety. He also was privately interred in St. John's. Jaenberght, or Lambert, abbot of St. Augustine, was chosen with the view of terminating the dispute between the monastery and the cathedral respecting the place of sepulture. He died in 790 or 791, and was buried in the abbey. During his prelature, Offa, king of Mercia, raised Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see, which his successor annulled. Athelard, or Ædelred, abbot of Malmsbury and bishop of Winchester, was consecrated in 793. He recovered the manor of Charing, and also the privileges of the archbishopric, and was excessively praised by pope Leo, and the monkish writers, who nevertheless all differ in stating the year of his death, making it 802, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the latter by Hovedon is the most probable date. His successor Vulfred, or Wilfred, who appears to have been the first archdeacon, was remarkable only for enriching Christ Church, having either procured or presented to his see, says Battely, no less than twenty-nine pieces of land, or other benefactions.

* Thorn, Gervase, and Eadmer say he built a church to St. John Baptist, and was buried in it ; but Godwin rejects the story.

† See Durr's Cant. p. 104.

During his prelature all the monks of Christ's Church died, except five; the date of his own death is differently stated by historians, as chronology and all other knowledge had then began to suffer a depression. It appears probable, that he died in 831. The same year abbot Feolgeld, or Theolgild, was elected, but died at the end of three months. A still more sudden fate awaited Syred, or Siric, who died immediately after his election, so that he is not numbered among the archbishops. Ceolnoth, or Celnoth, succeeded, and experienced many difficulties from the barbarous invasions of the Danes, and the mortality of his monks, which obliged him to engage secular priests in the service of the cathedral. He died about 870, and Athelbred, or Ethelred, bishop of Winchester *, ascended the throne. He was, observes Dart, a "thorough-paced monk;" and without any regard to civil justice ejected the secular priests introduced by his predecessor, but was obliged to retain some, being unable to supply their place with monks, after the carnage of the latter by the Danes. Dying about 890, he was succeeded by Plegmund, a Mercian, from Cheshire, who had been a hermit, till discovered by king Alfred, and introduced to his court, in 886, where he is said to have read lectures on divinity, and conversed with the king on every leisure hour. Our see becoming vacant, he was nominated, and went to Rome, where he was well received by the pope, who had greatly favoured the Saxon school established by Alfred. Much has been said of his purchasing relics, &c. and bringing home a piece of the cross, which Edward the Confessor afterwards gave to Westminster; but he has better claims to our respect by his encouraging the erection of churches (a work not only of piety, but also of patriotism † and sociability), his calling synods, and consecrating at once seven bishops among the West Saxons. He was revered for his "wisdom, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude ‡," in the most perilous and calamitous moments of war and desolation. He crowned Edward, the son of Alfred, king of England, and died in 923. Athelm, bishop of Wells, was translated in 924, and died in the fourth year after; they who labour to pervert our church history to suit the papal hierarchy, have vainly called him a monk; but Bromton shews that he was undoubtedly a secular priest. Wlfelhm was the next archbishop; he held several synods, where laws were made

* Milner, Winchest. calls him Alforth, a prelate of great learning.

† An obvious truth may nevertheless be a neglected and sometimes abused one. The present age has seen this exemplified. "Aucun edifice," truly observes madam de Staël-Holstein, "ne peut être aussi patriotique qu'une église; c'est le seul dans lequel toutes les classes de la nation se réunissent, le seul qui rappelle non seulement les événements publics, mais les pensées secrètes, les affections intimes que les chefs et les citoyens ont apportées dans son enceinte. Le temple de la divinité semble présenter comme elle aux siècles écoulés." *De L'Allemagne*, tom. i.

‡ Anglia Sacra, vol. i.

for trials by ordeal, witchcraft *, &c. and died in 941. Odo, of Danish origin, succeeded; according to his biographer Osbern he was a youth of parts, left desolate by his parents, taken by Athelm, a nobleman in Alfred's court, placed at one of the great Theodore's schools, where he acquired a competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, and finally became archbishop of Canterbury. Godwin conjectures that he had originally been a soldier, and was three times in battle; but Osbern suggests that his business in the field was, like Moses, only to hold up his hands in prayer for the Christians. He was surnamed *Severus*, for his extreme rigour; and most justly, if he was the actual cause of branding Elgiva with red hot irons; yet he was a supple courtier, if we may judge from his unpardonable conduct in crowning Edred, brother of the murdered king Edmund, to the prejudice of his two sons, Edwy and Edgar. He was a great favourer † of the monks, and died in 958. Elsin, bishop of Winchester, succeeded Odo, but was unfortunately frozen to death in the Alps, travelling to Rome for his pall. This very learned and virtuous prelate, called also Lippe, was a secular priest, a declared enemy of depraved monks, a friend to his abused sovereign and kinsman Edwy, and has consequently shared with his prince the malign censure ‡ of all monkish and jesuitic writers, from his own days down to Dr. John Milner. He is said to have called Odo an old dotard, but for what reason has not been assigned; had he been living, that of knave would have seemed more appropriate. Brithelm, bishop of Wells, falsely said to be a monk of Glastonbury §, was translated to Canterbury in 959, but king Edwy dying the same year, most probably by monkish machination, those cloistered traitors, who shewed no respect for regal, as readily trampled on archiepiscopal rights, and he was immediately driven from our metropolitan see. To cover this outrage, they accused him of incapacity, of not supporting the virtuous, nor restraining the vicious, yet Eadmer admits that he was a very modest, meek, and good man, and that he quietly passed the remainder of his days in his bishopric at Wells ||.

* See an excellent tract by sir Robert Filmer, "Difference between an English and Hebrew Witch," 1679, written in consequence of the execution of some witches in Kent.

† "There are many miracles to be read of him," observes Dart, "by such as are much in love with romance and improbability in Osbern. One I shall observe, of sufficient blasphemy too, told by Osbern and Gervaise. In order to convince some men who denied transubstantiation, *the wafer turned to flesh in Odo's hands, and dropped blood.* This horrid lie was to counterbalance Lanfranc's late book, in whose time Osbern lived, and carried the opinion of the real presence to a time when the English had never so much as heard of or allowed it, as Mr. Wharton observes." Hist. Cant. p. 109.

‡ His brother Edgar, who was notoriously a wretched profligate, has been sainted by monkish writers, who laboured to inculcate the infamous doctrine, "that as soon as any man puts on the habit of a monk all his former sins are forgiven;" hence princes eagerly became monks.

§ If we may credit Osbern, Life of Dunstan, speaking of Glastonbury, he affirms it was not then used as a monastery, and that the usage of convents and names of abbot had been long unheard of in England." Dart.

|| Neither Somner nor Batsely mention the name of Brithelm in their lists of archbishops,

In 960 or 961, the notorious Dunstan entered our archiepiscopal chair, which he occupied till death called him to another world in 988. The life and impostures of this man are unfortunately too well known, as the records of treason, cruelty, and hypocrisy in priests, or professors of religion, can never be advantageous to society. Nevertheless, Milner does not hesitate to affirm, that he was "eminent for piety, learning, the sciences, which are necessary for governing mankind; excelled in the liberal arts, particularly painting, carving, and music (the harp); the *most comprehensive genius* and the *greatest and best statesman* whom this nation ever produced!!!" We pass over his reported contests with the devil, and his miracles, well aware that it would be unjust to accuse him of the follies, blasphemies, and idolatries, since devised by monks, and proclaimed by friars; but we cannot overlook his treason to Edwy*, and his connivance at the much grosser crimes of Edgar. It were as easy to justify † the conduct of Judas Iscariot, as that of Dunstan in those respects. He had, says Dart, a very large share of superficial holiness and austerity, but we know not how to judge of what was under it. "If he was privy to the tricks and juggles which go under the name of miracles in his time, he must have been the vilest of impostors." Some of these it is difficult to acquit him of. Odo ‡ and Dunstan have been deified for violating the laws of God and nature, for persecuting even to death married men, an unnatural and impious measure, *indirectly* forbidden by St. Paul, and *directly* prohibited by St. Gregory. Ethelgar succeeded Dunstan, but lived little more than a year. Siricius, abbot of Augustine's, and bishop of Wilton, was translated to our see in 989; historians censure

and the former also omits that of Elsiene. Dart seems to doubt that this Brithelm is the same as the bishop of Winchester (the successor of Elsiene), whom Milner makes the architect of that cathedral, a native of Winchester, and builder or founder of Ely; Peterburgh, and Thorney; a man of talents, learning, and piety. (See Milner's Winch. vol. i. p. 159.) But they are evidently very different persons.

* Henry of Huntingdon, "who was no monk," speaks of Edwy and his reign as being decorous, laudable, and good. *Rex autem predictus Edwi non illaudabiliter regni insulam tenuit. Edwi rex anno regni sui quinto cum in principio regnum ejus decemissime floreret, prospera & letibunda exordia mors immatura pererrupit.* L. 5.

† Milner vainly attempts to justify the brutal outrage on Elgiva, by saying that Edwy was "a prey to a wicked woman of great beauty and high birth, being *nearly related to himself*, by name Aigiva, who together with her grown-up daughter, inveigled and corrupted him to such a degree, as to cause him, soon after he had been crowned and anointed, to leave the coronation feast." Hist. Winch. p. 159. Now that being who could accuse or suspect a youth of thirteen of criminal connexion with a mother and daughter, *his relations*, must unite to the ignorance of a monk, the perverse soul of a jesuit, and the heart of an assassin. As to Odo, a Dane, he might retain some hereditary ferocity; but for Dunstan, whose only proof of talents is his obstinate cruelty, his memory must for ever be consigned to the execration of every Christian and rational being.

‡ In his Pastoral Letter, or Constitution, he writes, "I strictly command and charge, that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, who are the sons of God, and the sons of God ought to be free from all taxes. If any man dares to disobey the discipline of the church in this particular, he is more wicked and impudent than the soldiers who crucified Christ. I command the king, the princes, and all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbishops and bishops, for they have the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.

him as a bad politician for advising tribute to the plundering Danes. He died in 994, was succeeded by Alfric, Ælfric, or Aluric, who was educated at Abingdon, made abbot of St. Alban's, bishop of Wilton, and consecrated in Canterbury 995, and died 1005. He was a moral, pious, and learned man, who compiled several sermons and homilies, translated a great part of the scriptures into Saxon, and laboured during the dreadful wars with the Danes, to restore the ancient principles and discipline of the church *. Elphage, or Alface, bishop of Winchester, was translated to our metropolitan see in 1006; about

* As the doctrines taught by the learned and pious archbishop Alfric, in his Homilies, are precisely those of the present church of England, although promulgated in the tenth century; they may be considered as forming a part of our metropolitan church history, and necessarily noticed here. The Lord's Prayer, Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, present no variations. Respecting the alleged superiority of Peter, we find the following very judicious exposition of our Saviour's words, directly opposing the papal pretensions: "The Lord said to Peter, thou art stony, for the strength of his belief and for the steadfastness of his confession, he took upon him that name. Because he submitted himself with a constant mind to Christ, who is called stone by St. Paul; *I will build my church upon this stone*, that is, upon the belief which thou confessest. All God's church is built upon this stone; that is, on Christ; for he is the ground-wall, the foundation of all the building of his own church. He that buildeth not upon this ground-wall, his work will fall to great ruin." Against the idolatry of worshipping saints and images, it is observed, "Get thee behind me, satan; it is written, man shall worship his Lord, and him only shall he serve. It is written in the old law, that no man shall pray to any thing, but to God alone; because no creature is worthy that honour, but he alone who is the maker of all things; to him only we ought to pray. He only is very Lord and very God. We desire intercession of holy men (who are living) that they will intercede for us to their Lord and our Lord. Nevertheless, we do not pray to them, as we do to God, nor will they suffer it, as the angel said to John the apostle, when he would have fallen at his feet, *Do it not: how sayest thou to me, I am God's servant as thou art, and thy brother: pray to God only.*" The preposterous doctrine of transubstantiation and the actual corporeal presence had no existence in our Saxon English church. "The eucharist is Christ's body, not corporeally but ghostly; not the body in which he suffered, but the body of which he spoke when he blessed bread and wine to the eucharist, one night before his suffering, and said of the blessed bread, *this is my body*: and again of the blessed wine, *this is my blood which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins.* Understand now, that the Lord who could turn that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wine to his blood, ghostly or spiritually, that the same Lord blesseth daily (or can bless) by the hands of the priest, bread and wine to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood!" No words can be more clear, just, or pious; none more worthy an enlightened Christian expositor of this holy sacrament, than the above. The defence therefore of the church of England, against the false charges of papists, who pretend that we have deviated from the ancient faith, and introduced new doctrines, appears perfect and irresistible from this exposition. In addition to this, we shall subjoin the judicious remarks of the translator (E. Elstob), of the Saxon English Homily, on the birth-day of Gregory.

"From the instances given of the faith, worship, and discipline introduced by St. Augustine, and continued for so long a time in the Saxon English church, it will appear that we have inquired of Gregory concerning the faith transmitted to us; and find, to our great satisfaction, that we still retain it in the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, and in the Holy Scriptures. But he knew nothing of the Trent articles, neither do we acknowledge them. We have inquired of our elders Augustine and his assistants, what reverence was paid to the Roman see, and perceive that our ancestors paid that reverence which the Christian religion allows to a fellow-labourer, who pretended not to lord it over God's heritage, but must declare that neither they nor we ought to reverence an usurped supremacy and a corrupt church! We perceive also, that they then had, and we still retain, those two sacraments which Christ appointed in his church, agreeable to their intent, without the corruption of the mass and transubstantiation. We have those rites and ceremonies, free from all superstition, which are most reverend and decent in the service of God, keeping close to St. Gregory's directions to St. Augustine, and most convenient for the stile of our church. The altars which they erected, the heterodox have destroyed. We adhere to the original Catholic faith; the papists have added new and heterodox notions to the Christian belief, and impose them as articles of faith. They have forsaken the ways of their fathers St. Gregory and St. Peter, by bringing in so many novelties and absurdities; adopting all the errors, superstitions, images, and impieties of idolatry and transubstantiation, and those other blemishes which so much deface the Roman church at this day." P. lv.

seven years after the Danes took and desolated this city, carried off the archbishop, and brought him to London, with the hope of getting ransom; but he nobly refused all their overtures, and after keeping him in prison some time, had him stoned to death at Greenwich, in May 1012. He has been canonized as a martyr. Living, Elfstane or Athelstane, next succeeded from the see of Wells; during the barbarous incursions of Swane and the Danes, he dastardly fled from his distressed flock to the continent. When Canute was crowned, he returned, and became a great benefactor to his cathedral, repairing the roof and other parts which the Danes had burned, by piling combustible matter in barrels one above another. He died in 1020, and was succeeded by Ethelnoth or Agelnoth, son of earl Egalmare, and a Gastonbury scholar. When at Rome for his pall, he is said to have purchased the arm of Augustine, bishop of Hyppo, for 100 talents of silver, and one of gold. The abbey of Reculver, granted by king Edred to Christ Church in 949, remained undissolved till the prelacy of the good Ethelnoth. He had considerable influence over Canute, and directed him to works of piety and munificence. According to Harpsfield, he was very faithful to his word, and refused to crown Harold, because he had promised to Canute to crown none but the children of Emma. He died in 1038, and Eadsius or Eadsin, became our metropolitan. Of the origin of this prelate, little is known that merits confidence; he was a secular priest and chaplain to Canute. After his consecration, it is alleged that he was afflicted with disease, and by the intrigues of earl Godwin, and the weakness of Edward Confessor, Siward, an abbot of Abingdon, was imposed on him as his coadjutor. The latter was called bishop, but he dying, Eadsius reassumed his archiepiscopal dignity, and died 1050. During the intrusion of Siward, he was so ill provided for in his retirement, that he complained of wanting sufficient maintenance, probably, observes Innet, for his disposition to favour the Danish interest. Robert, a monk, who had insinuated himself into the favour of Edward, during his exile on the continent, came to this country, was made bishop of London, and translated to Canterbury in 1050, or 1051. As a specimen of gratitude to his patron and benefactor, king Edward, he intrigued with the Norman faction, in consequence of which, Godwin accused him of fomenting divisions, and he was outlawed. He fled to France, and died in the monastery of Gemetica, in 1052. Stigand, a true Englishman, bishop of Winchester, succeeded. To depict the real character of this great and good man, would far exceed our limits; the abuse which the monks and papal writers down to Milner of the present day, have heaped on him, pre-

sents a melancholy specimen of fanaticism and malignity. He refused to crown William, even at his particular request, observing (say Hemingford, Wykes, and all but monkish writers), that "he would not set the crown upon the head of a murderer and usurper." The perfidious William, however, meanly concealed his resentment until he had secured his power, and then Stigand was committed to prison in Winchester, where he died. Nevertheless, his firmness contributed to preserve many of the Kentish privileges, which the Norman could not annul. He has been accused of simony and covetousness; the former even before he had money, according to his accusers, to pay; and the latter is sufficiently disproved, by his liberality to the churches of Ely and Canterbury. To sum up his character, says Dart, "he lost his see for not being a bigot to the court of Rome; his liberty, for not being a traitor to his country; and his reputation, for not being a monk. The first, by the greatest monster that ever held the keys; the second, by the greatest tyrant and usurper that ever swayed the English sceptre; and the last, by the most shameless set of men, that ever wrote on history, who have been so cruel as to affirm his death to be the same as Judas's, i. e. that his bowels gushed out."

The Norman invasion had now revolutionized the country; foreign adventurers, who accompanied William, filled almost every place of honour or emolument*; the genius and skill of Englishmen were depreciated, and arrogant beings, stimulated only by rapacity and matchless impudence, were invested with authority to direct and rule Britons. Agreeable to this system, Stigand was deposed, persecuted, and calumniated; and Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, in Italy, the son of a lawyer, and a lawyer himself, was consecrated metropolitan of all England, in 1070. This "briefless barrister," finding that the profession of monk was more advantageous than the bar, emigrated from Italy to France, where he was in several monasteries; became professor of theology and arts at Avranches, and seized the ladder of exaltation, by espousing the doctrine of corporal presence, in answer to Berengarius, archdeacon of Angers. This insured him the pope's favour; and, consequently, that of the bastard duke of Normandy, who sought papal aid to secure his power. His conduct, as metropolitan, was very arbitrary; deposing bishops, and turning out all clergymen who were too honest and intrepid to approve of Norman spoliation. He framed laws† for the monks, issued the most cruel and unnatural de-

* So that, as Innet justly observes, except Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, and Siward of Rochester, "there was not one bishop in England, before the end of 1070, who was not in the Norman interest." Orig. Angl. vol. ii.

† There is a striking similarity in the idolatrous rites of all ages and nations. The monotonous sterility of men's imagination in devising new modes and objects of worship, presents one of the most unanswerable arguments in behalf of the divine inspiration of the

crees against married priests, obliging them to abandon their wives and children; and endeavoured, by every means, to lay a load of obedience to the pope upon the shoulders of Englishmen. He wished to influence the conqueror to his measures, but William was too absolute* and too successful, observes Dart, to be lured or threatened to own the papal authority. His greatest and best act was the repairing of his cathedral, which he did not live to complete, and died in 1089. He nobly resisted Odo, bishop of Baieux, William's brother, then earl of Kent, and obliged him to cede some property, belonging to the see, which he had rapaciously seized. Anselm, a friend, and fellow adventurer with Lanfranc, and a native of *Augusta*, now Aouste, in Piedmont (not Burgundy), was consecrated archbishop in 1093, after the king had held the see three years vacant. He had been abbot of Bec†, and accompanied an earl of Chester to this country. His disputes with Rufus and Henry I. are recorded in the general history of England, his banish-

Scriptures. The greater part of the papal ceremonies are either caricatures, or imperfect imitations of those adopted by the Roman pagans. Thus, we find in the statutes and ordinances given by Lanfranc to his Benedictine monks, a chapter on blood-letting, *de sanguinis missionibus*, which bears much analogy to what Gellius relates of the punishment of Roman soldiers, who were ordered to be bled as a remedy either for sluggish drowsiness, or stupidity, in neglect of discipline or duty. According to these laws, the monks must first ask leave to let blood, which cannot be granted at certain solemn seasons (unless in cases of immediate necessity), when their absence from the public service of their church was not to be dispensed with. But permission being obtained, the hour was to be notified to the cellarer of the convent (an important person among *abstemious* monks), and those to be bled were to attend at the places destined for this purpose, where several irrational and superstitious ceremonies were ordered to be performed on the occasion. Afterwards, they were to appear before the prior and chapter, and it being then openly pronounced that such and such a friar or brother had blood taken from him, the monk was to stand up (especially if a vein in the arm had been opened), and speak for himself. If he had been guilty of a slight offence, it should be forgiven; but if it was of such a nature as could not be passed over without corporal punishment, then its infliction was deferred till he had recovered better health and strength after the loss of blood. This regulation, justly observes Battely, is "somewhat mystical, and perhaps designedly so, that the reputation of the members of the convent might be preserved from being publicly charged with irregularities and foul enormities. Such things were, like the rites of *Ceres*, religiously to be concealed. But it seems plain that the want of having blood taken, was frequently occasioned by intemperance and excess. When the lord high steward and his retinue had officially attended at an enthronization-feast of an archbishop, it was one branch of his accustomed right and fee, which he claimed on going away, to stop three days at one of the nearest manors of the archbishop to be bled, after the high feeding and excessive drinking at that feast."

* Nevertheless, William had so much confidence in his talents, that he appointed him sole justiciary of England every time he went to the continent. See Lambard's *Textus Roffensis*, archbishop Parker and Brown's *Fasc. Rerum*, where Lanfranc is called *Princeps et custos Angliæ*.

† The works of Anselm have suffered much less from monkish interpolations than those of Theodore, whose *Parvitiæ*, by Petit, has been filled with scandalous sentences. Anselm's dissertations on the Evangelists and Apostles, and on free will, although enveloped in a scholastic jargon, contain judicious observations: his 155 *Aces* or stanzas to the "Queen of Heaven," (see this idolatry condemned, Jeremiah vii. 18. and xlii. 17.) are less obscene than those of some more modern poets; his chapters 8 and 14, in tom. iii. indeed, are grossly indecent. It is worthy of remark, that as extremes meet, many of his sentiments appear to have been adopted by the Puritans; and Butler has commemorated them in his Hudibras with admirable humour. But the great feature in the character of Anselm is, that of a sycophant before he obtained power; and a haughty despot afterwards: his flattery to Lanfranc is equally disgusting and blasphemous. In his letters to him, he always interweaves some artful touch of base adulation; such as, "your divine disposition," "your wisdom," &c. He affected extreme humility, and styled himself *servus servorum Dei*; and, after his expulsion from the kingdom, instead of archbishop, he wrote—"servus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis;" yet, he was one of the

ment and return; the king's giving up the right of investiture to the pope, and retaining only the nomination to sees, are also known by their deplorable effects. Till the reign of Rufus and Urban, the episcopal investiture of the staff and ring had been the ancient usage, and undisputed privilege of our kings; but this right being lost to the crown, and the celibacy* of priests established, the clergy became a distinct class, wholly independent, either of the king or the country, of all civil law, and willing instruments in the hands of a papal despot: hence, our ill-fated country was long the prey of foreign wolves, till the glorious epoch of the reformation rescued it, we hope, for ever, from the miseries of foreign domination, idolatry, superstition, and ignorance.

Although Lanfranc, Anselm, and other Italian or French archbishops were devoted to the pope, they nevertheless opposed him, whenever their personal consequence was concerned, a proof of the real spirit by which they were actuated. Thus Anselm, feeling his own importance diminished by the presence of Guido, archbishop of Vienna, a legate in this country, immediately opposed his residence here, as a usurpation, and actually compelled that prelate to leave England. Again, he found, that the celibacy of the clergy made them subservient to his purpose; and in 1108 he enforced, at Westminster, a decree †, which he had procured about six years before, for the more rigorous observance of celibacy, for the separation of husband‡ and wife, in defiance of the direct injunctions of the Scriptures; and for preventing all married clergymen from officiating until they had repudiated their wives! Not content with introducing and inculcating this odious principle, he actually enforced it with a degree of brutal ferocity, which impelled

vainest men that ever lived, permitted his inferior clergy to *kiss his feet*, and allowed the pope (perhaps in jest) to call him "the pope and apostle of another world!" John of Sarisb.—A Sarinian ambassador to George II. made, with permission, an abortive attempt in the cathedral to procure some of Anselm's bones for his master to worship.

* It is worthy of remark, that this device, like the worship of "the queen of heaven," and all the other antichristian superstitions, introduced by the popes, is precisely one of those plagues inflicted on the Jews for their idolatry; the curse of celibacy is pronounced on them, as a judgment for their disobedience. See Psal. 78, 63; Jerem. 7, 34; 16, 9; 23, 10; and Revelat. 18, 23; in the latter it unquestionably applies to the abomination of Rome.

† The passing of this decree is a direct and incontrovertible proof, that clerical celibacy had not originally prevailed in the Saxon-English church, contrary to the false allegations of Lingard (Antiquit. Saxon church) and other popish enemies of human nature. The unblushing impudence with which the existence of celibacy among the Saxons was asserted, had almost deluded some enlightened Protestants. See *Quarterly Review*, No. 13.

‡ At the very time the English bishops were presumptuously making such atrocious laws, the clergy in Spain were not only allowed to have wives, but even concubines (*barraganes*)! There is much analogy between these nefarious institutions, both being equally injurious to society, and both unnatural. The Spanish clerical polygamists, however, were subject to more regulations than represented in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 43, Oct. 1815; where the reviewer, notwithstanding his professed friendship for what is vulgarly called "catholic emancipation," (i. e. the exaltation of superstition and ignorance, without those moral obligations required from science and religion), depicts the Spanish papists in no very favourable colours. The critic, indeed, betrays much ignorance of the Spanish laws; and strangely confounds the historian Don Juan de Mariana with Dr. Don Francisco Martinez y Marina, author of an essay on the *Antigua Legislacion de Leon y Castilla*.

the monk, Matthew Paris, to express his surprise that the king suffered such atrocious outrages on humanity and civil justice. Even the pope Paschal himself disapproved of his conduct in this respect, and advised him to let such of the married clergy, as were sons of the clergy, live in peace; a just panegyric on them, which deserves to be recorded, to the disgrace and shame of the celibataires,—“*That the GREATEST and BEST of the clergy were the sons of the clergy.*” To Anselm has been attributed the merit of re-building a great part of our cathedral; but when we consider, that his ambition and ill-nature kept him in a state of continual warfare, we cannot believe that he bestowed much expense on an edifice, the honours of which he plainly perceived he was not likely to enjoy. The king, according to Dicet, required from him a thousand pounds for the archbishopric; and, likewise, says Bromton, levied on him annual contributions, which made him at first hesitate in accepting the primacy. Anselm died in 1109, in his seventy-sixth year*: and his unchristian stubbornness, being very injurious to the cause of religion, the king received the revenues of the see five years, till 1114, when Ralph or Radulphus, bishop of Rochester, was translated hither. He was so indecorously facetious, that he was called “the Jester;” but he took his investiture from the king, contrary to the papal injunction, yet received his pall with an oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, a thing before unknown. He died in 1122, and was succeeded, in a few months, by W. Corhoil †; who, it is said, crowned Stephen, contrary to his oath to the empress Maud, which preyed so incessantly on his mind, that he died shortly after, in 1136. He was duped into the office of legate; the pope artfully bestowing on him the title of “Legate of the Apostolical See,” when he wrote to him, opposing the appointment of any such officer in England. He “beautified” his cathedral, re-dedicated it to Christ, and

* “In the reign of Henry VII. he was,” observes a very judicious and accurate cotemporary writer, “most absurdly canonized, for ‘his piety and sufferings,’ at the intercession and great expense of archbishop Morton.”—Brayley’s Kent, 788. A chapel (see pl. 11.), on the south-east side of the choir, still retains his name. Over this chapel is a room, which Gostling and King supposed had been used as a prison for the criminal monks. A writer in the Gent. Mag. opposed this notion, alleging that the fire-place in it was for baking the sacramental wafers; but as no ovens are used for such a purpose, Gostling’s opinion is the more plausible. Very probably it was occasionally occupied by the abandoned female, who, in convents, is technically called “the prior’s niece,” a practice sufficiently common in all ages of monastic superstition.

† During his primacy, the cardinal John de Crema arrived in this country as papal legate, and held several councils, enforcing, by the most cruel measures, clerical celibacy: this foreign miscreant, however, was himself caught with a woman of the town; and so public was the transaction, that he was obliged to steal away out of the country. Rudborn, Gervase, M. Paris, and all the monks, as well as more impartial chroniclers, relate the disgraceful fact. Another historian states, that this worthy legate, “In a speech to the council, at Westminster, inveighed against the lewdness and immorality of those churchmen, who lived in a state of matrimony, affirming it to be ‘the height of impiety for a priest to make the body of Christ, ‘when he had lately risen from the side of a prostitute;’ (for such was the appellation this licentious bigot bestowed on the wives of the clergy). In the evening of the same day, the cardinal himself, after he had administered the eucharist, was detected in the arms of a professed cour-
tesan!”

built the priory church of St. Martin, Dover*. In 1138, Theobald, abbot of Bec, was consecrated archbishop; he was a firm supporter of the papal usurpation, experienced many troubles, was rather a steady than an enlightened man, a ferocious misogamist, governed his monks sternly, and in ecclesiastical matters, a most violent bigot; yet, in other respects, humane and charitable. A famine having occurred, during the quarrels of Stephen and Henry, he sold the church ornaments to relieve the poor. He was a man of little learning, and died of old age, in 1161 †. The notorious Becket was the next archbishop, who joined the popes in the iniquitous conspiracy "to fix on the neck of the whole western world, the iron yoke of servitude, and the abominations of idolatry." Thomas Becket was the son of a London merchant by a Syrian woman; his life has been often written by friends, enemies, and impartial observers, and in all of them ingratitude and treachery appear to be his least faults. His death, in 1170, in our cathedral ‡, was perhaps entirely owing to his own malignant passions, as the persons who attacked him probably only designed to give him a severe chastisement, but not to take his life, had he not menaced and insulted them, calling Fitz-Urse a pimp, &c. This is acknowledged even by Edward Gryme or Ryme, the priest who accompanied him, and who received a severe wound in the arm attempting to save the sacerdotal malefactor. After the death of Becket, the performance of divine service was suspended a whole year, and the building suffered to lie under the dirt and filth occasioned by the multitudes of curious or superstitious spectators who visited it from all parts. This neglect of public worship was certainly not a very pious mode of expiating crimes, however it might be agreeable to the papal system. The men who put this imperious prelate to death, went to Rome and received absolution § from the pope, a most convenient way of atoning for murder. The see being vacant above three years, Richard, prior of

* "In 1132 he laid, without the walls, the foundation of the priory," says Lyon, "and had it, with all its extensive buildings, finished in four years. The canons of St. Martin were accused of behaving indecently to single and married women, both within and without the walls of the town; to the crime of gallantry, they added worldly cares, temporal pursuits, dissipations, and the wasting of their revenues in extravagant luxuries." See rev. Mr. Lyon's excellent History of Dover, vol. i.

† The tomb (see plate 2.) ascribed to him by Godwin, but denied by subsequent writers, seems to be of somewhat earlier date.

‡ The north end of the western transept is still called the Martyrdom, and an oblong square marble stone remains in the floor, with a small piece of stone, about four inches square, inserted in it; where, according to the traditions, some of Becket's brains fell; and which were cut out, with a piece of the stone, and carried to Rome as a sacred relic. Other stones, stained with his blood, were carried to Peterborough. The miracles which this extraordinary stone has wrought, and which are just as true as all other papal miracles, would require a ponderous volume to detail them. The stone is of the same quality as the greater part of the pavement of the cathedral,—a russet yellow marble, clouded or striped with white. It is susceptible of a fine polish, and is a stratified carbonate of lime, the *chaux carbonatée concretionnée stratiforme* of Many and the French mineralogists.

§ The papal legendists pretend that they were haunted, during the remainder of their lives,

Dover, was elected to the archiepiscopal chair; he was a man of good natural dispositions, respectable attainments, and a useful preacher. As he had none of the ambitious malignity or virulence of his predecessor, the monkish writers have accused him of inattention to church discipline, and fabricated ridiculous tales about his visions, &c. His letters, and those of Petrus Blæsensis *, prove that he respected moral justice and humanity. He died in 1184, and was succeeded by Baldwin †, who accompanied Richard to the Holy Land, where he died in 1190. The domineering ambition of the monks of Christ Church, their subserviency to the pope, and their assumption of an exclusive right to elect an archbishop, having occasioned much trouble, this prelate made a most laudable attempt to check their usurpations, by indirectly depriving them of political power. With this view he commenced and nearly completed building a church and college for seculars, at Hackington, or St. Stephen's; but the subtle monks anticipated its consequence, and succeeded in persuading the pope to oblige the worthy archbishop to abandon his undertaking, and demolish his building. The monks in 1191, by main force, elected Reginald Fitz Joceline, a native of Lombardy, (son of Joceline, bishop of Salisbury), and bishop of Bath, but he died in four weeks after. Hubert Walter, of West Dereham, Norfolk, and bishop of Salisbury, was chosen our next prelate; he raised money for the king's ransom; was appointed lord chief justiciary and lord chancellor, in which offices he con-

by spirits; and if any of them were worse than that of Becket himself, it was certainly a great punishment.—Cantuar. *Vite de'Santi*. Bishop Milner, indeed, has praised Becket's virtues, with as much correctness as a Frenchman the coolness of Vesuvius, during an eruption.

* Among the first consequences of Becket's violent and treasonable efforts to set himself and his followers above all law and authority, was the degradation of the clergy in general: his sagacious and Christian project of exempting them, even when guilty of civil offences, from all secular punishment, naturally incurred the utmost indignation, and in bad minds inspired the bitterest vengeance. The following extract from the letters of Petrus Blæsensis (Peter de Blois, a Frenchman), archdeacon of Bath, and chancellor of Canterbury, addressed by the direction of archbishop Richard, to the bishops of Ely, Winchester, and Norwich, is quite sufficient respecting the state of the clergy in this country, near the close of the 12th century; and also of the morality of the papal see at the same period. "If a Jew (observes this prelate), or the meanest laic^e be murdered, the murderer is presently hanged for it; but if a priest or any clergyman, of whatever rank, be murdered, the murderer is only excommunicated. By this means," he continues, "it comes to pass, that the stealing of a goat or a sheep is punished in a heavier manner than the murder of a priest; yet this, and what is still more insupportable, is but what we have deserved by our ambition, usurping an authority which no ways belonged to us; for by that accursed jurisdiction which we have so presumptuously assumed, we have provoked God and the King, and have opened a safe way to the laity to wreak their malice upon the clergy. Thus, a very learned and worthy priest was lately murdered in Winchester, by Wm. Frecher and his wife, and they do not deny the fact; but the murderer is gone to Rome, and makes no doubt but by *prostituting* his wife, who is a beautiful woman, he shall not only obtain absolution at the court of Rome, but be well paid for his journey thither." Innet's History of the English Church.—The hideous system of granting absolutions has still been continued by the libidinous popes; and it is now well known, and matter of history, that Manuel Godoy, in Spain, pursued the same system of patronage, till May 1808, under the eyes, and with the knowledge of a papal cardinal and legate!—This P. Blæsensis was the first writer, says Cave, who applied the word *transubstantiation* to the eucharist.

† The "Itinerary" of this prelate through Wales, by Gir. de Barri, surnamed Cambrensis, who accompanied him, has been ably translated and published by sir R. C. Hoare, bart.

ducted himself with equal ability and integrity; and although G. Cambrensis has accused him of want of learning, it is unquestionable that he was a man of considerable talents, virtue, and beneficence. He was too upright a man to answer the purposes of the monks and popes, and consequently incurred their hatred. He walled in the tower of London, improved his see with buildings, and would have founded a college at Lambeth, had not the pope prevented him. Hubert died in 1205; and after two years disputes, elections, and annullings, the infamous pope Innocent III. contrary to the king's nomination and the choice of the monks, consecrated Stephen Langton, an Englishman, and chancellor of the university of Paris. This archbishop being a great favourite of the ambitious pope, he was created a cardinal* of St. Chrysosone, assisted the enemies of his country against his lawful sovereign; and died in 1228. In 1220, the remains of Becket were removed from the undercroft, and placed in a most splendid and costly shrine †, erected in the new chapel of the Holy Trinity. The feastings and expenses attending this parade of superstition were so enormous, that Langton entailed a debt on his see, which Boniface, his third successor, was scarcely able to liquidate. Richard Wethershed, called the great, a man of talents and learning, succeeded Langton; but died within three years. In 1234, Edmund of Abingdon, son of Edward Rich, and chancellor of Sarum, was consecrated; he was at continual variance, either with the monks or friars‡, the king or the pope; felt deeply the miseries of his country; abandoned his charge in 1240; went abroad; died in a few months

* For an account of the ceremonies of stopping the new made cardinal's mouth, by the pope, and thereby depriving him of the right of speaking his opinion in consistories, or congregations, and of having either an active or passive voice for a time, see "*Il Cardinalismo di Sta. Chiesa*."

† Accounts may be found in all our historians, of the ridiculous extravagance of this monument, which had much more resemblance to the pagantry of oriental idolatry, than Christian rationality. It possessed, however, the necessary art of money-making; and "it is a curious fact," observes Lyttleton, "that while at the altar of Christ no oblations were made, and very few at that of the Virgin Mary;" the amount in one year, at Becket's, was 954l. 6s. 3d. another melancholy proof of the worship of dead men in preference to the Deity!

‡ The principles and conduct of the friars are well described even by Matthew Paris, who relates the controversy for superiority between the Dominicans and Franciscans, the former arriving in this country about 1217, the latter in 1204. The Franciscans go with sandals only on their feet, and are called barefooted friars, and wear plaited cords round their waist, as marks of humility. "They had not been 24 years in this country, when they were in possession of mansions like the stately palaces of kings, surrounded with high walls, and living in the greatest magnificence. They diligently attend on rich men dying when they know that there is plenty of wealth, that they may fill themselves with booty; they extort confessions, procure wills and testaments to be made privately, and recommend themselves only to the charity of testators. Hence no believer thought he could be saved unless guided by those friars, either the preaching (Dominican) or minors (Franciscan). They are eager to obtain privileges, attend nobles and statesmen, and always throw themselves into concerns of marriages: they sedulously put in execution all papal exactions and extortions. In their preaching they are either fawning flatterers or bitter reprovers; they betray private confidence, or are unwary or unwise in their reprehensions. They insult and abuse all other orders, despise the Benedictines and Augustines, and repute the Cisterians to be rude, simple, half-laymen, and mere rustics; the black monks to be proud epicures." This portrait of friars in the 13th century will be found, on inspection, to be very applicable to those of the united Protestant kingdom, even at the present day, almost 600 years later.

after, and was deified in 1245. At the instance of queen Eleanor the stubborn monks elected her uncle Boniface, son of the duke of Savoy, archbishop; he was confirmed in 1243, and enthronized* in 1249. This prelate paid the debts of his predecessors, amounting to 22,000 marks, by obtaining a year's rent of all the vacant livings in his diocese: he founded a college at Maidstone; but, as he was no friend to the monks, they have represented him as an illiterate, haughty, overbearing, and most rapacious man; universally hated; and once in danger of being killed in London, "for beating the prior of St. Bartholomew's, at a pretended visitation†." He "fled with his spoil to his own country," where he died in 1270. Yet Birchington says he was a great friend to the poor. Robert Kilwardy, a Dominican friar, contrary to the will of the monks, was appointed by the pope to this see‡ in 1272: he was a sturdy partizan of the Dominicans; built Black-Friars, in London; and obtained some celebrity as an orator, logician, and critic. In 1277, the pope made him a cardinal, when he resigned his see, and retired, after collecting 5000 marks, to Italy; where he died shortly after, supposed by poison. In 1279 John Peckham was likewise raised to our see by the pope, contrary to the election of Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath, and the wish of the king. He was a Franciscan; but his exaltation was a mere act of rapacity, in order to extort money; for the pope threatened him with excommunication, if he did not pay him 4000 marks§. He was a man of learning, founder of the college at Wingham, tolerably well disposed, and severe only to adulterers. In 1292 he died, and was succeeded the following year by Robert Winchelsey||, who was educated in the grammar school of this city¶, was one of the greatest friends to litera-

* The reader who wishes to know more of the pompous and irrational ceremonies of enthronization, as it was called, may consult Somner's and Battely's Antiquities.

† Ducarel alleges, that to atone for this outrage, he built (rather repaired) Lambeth palace. See Nichols' history; and more particularly Brayley's "Concise Account of Lambeth Palace," 4to. 1806; containing many curious plates, coloured and gilded portraits, &c.; with views of the Lollard's tower and prison, where so many unfortunate "heretics" were tortured, &c. The present archbishop, Dr. Manners Sutton, has generously purchased a neat residence near Croydon, called Addington House, for the future use of his see.

‡ King Edward refused him the temporalities, until he could make a public protestation, at a council in Westminster, that the grant was of his own "mere grace and favour, and not from any right;" the pope having rejected William Chillenden (who was elected by the monks), "contrary to his prerogative, to the laws of the realm, and to the liberties of the English church."

§ The archbishop was accustomed to call the pope's letter, containing this atrocious menace, in the true spirit of a highwayman,—*littera horribilis in aspectu et auditu terribilis*. He also had 5000 marks to pay for his predecessor, and 9000 for his enthronization.

|| In 1295, he was vulgarly insulted by two papal legates, who arrived in this country to settle a dispute between the English and French kings, by being obliged, in return for his hospitality, to make his cross-bearer lower his cross, that theirs might be exalted. Ducarel's Croydon. The archiepiscopal palace at Croydon, once the asylum of learning, piety, and hospitality, is now in ruins; the grand entrance-arch only remaining, with the hall, which is at present used as a drying-loft to the adjoining bleachfield, where cloth is bleached without science, as the house is inhabited without civility.

¶ It is not improper here to confirm the remark, made p. (k), by adverting to the many good and great men, who were born and educated in this city or its vicinity, and whose names

ture, the most humane and charitable to the poor, and altogether a prelate of distinguished learning, talents, and virtues; his quarrels with the king appear to have originated in his dislike of innovation, and other social virtues, which perhaps would have been less equivocal had he shewn less zeal for the paramount authority of the church. He died in 1313; and such was his beneficence to the poor, that his memory escaped the last disgrace, that of papal deification.

We have now brought the history of our metropolitan see, to the period when it and Christ Church priory lost the absolute control of ecclesiastical affairs in this country. The unbounded ambition of the popes, and the introduction of regularly organized bodies of propagandists, under various denominations of friars, and with them the abominable rite of auricular confession*, soon effected a revolution in the hierarchy. Luxury and effeminacy had somewhat impaired the ardour† of the monks or cloistered friars‡; the archbishops'§ influence sunk,

are recorded in the annals of society, as statesmen, warriors, divines, philosophers, and poets. It is equally worthy of notice, that they all evinced extraordinary probity and benevolence, as well as genius: thus, sir P. Sidney, T. Randolph, F. Walsingham, H. Wotton, the ancient architect; T. Wyatt, first English versifier of the psalms; and admiral Rooke (whose monument appears in our cathedral, and whose great character is fairly appreciated in Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*); general Wolfe, bishops Gunning and Fletcher, deans Comber and Spencer, the great Dr. Harvey, the antiquary and Saxon lexicographer, Somner; the naturalist, Dr. Plott; and Dr. Fludd, who first made a telescope in this country; the mathematicians, Billingsley (lord mayor of London), and Wallis; with Hawkesworth, Theobald, Smart, Mrs. Carter, &c. whose lives illustrate the sentiment of our national dramatist—

"Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
Is term'd the civilst place of all this isle;
Sweet is the country, because full of riches,
The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy."

* For a correct notion of the hideous consequences of "this instrument of crimes and source of hypocrisy;" to which is "attributed nearly all the crimes committed by the community in Sicily," see *Blaquiere's Letters*, l. 190-3, 8vo. 1813 — "Even in confession plotting sins anew."

† Gibbon, in his famous chapter on "monastic life," observes, with more truth than usual, "a cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country; their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is influenced by religious (superstitious) hatred, and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the inquisition." We concur, however, with a most ingenious and learned defender of the Christian faith, who has ably exposed the puerilities of unitarianism, that Gibbon's work, independent of his gross obscenity, "appears, not a faithful impartial history, but a disgusting tissue of misrepresentations and falsehoods, disguised under studied embellishments of language, and dictated by pride, ignorance, and malice." *Jones's Ecclesiast. Researches*, proving Philo and Josephus Christians, and apologists of the faith. We hope this writer will not forget that orthodoxy and sound judgment, in every department of knowledge, are much more intimately allied than vulgarly supposed.

‡ For the sake of brevity, and to avoid repetition, all cloistered religious are in this work indiscriminately called, according to the usage of convents, monks or friars; the term *frier* signifying brother; every monk is a friar, but every friar is not a monk. When any particular order of friars is mentioned, then they are called after their order or dress, as Dominican, black, white, &c. friars. This is consistent with the practice of religious cenobites, who never say monk John, or monk Thomas, but friar John, &c.

§ The importance of the "primate and metropolitan of all England," originally "by the grace of God," latterly "by Divine Providence, archbishop of Canterbury," may be estimated from the following subordinate officers, in papal times; "the bishop of London was considered as his dean in the college of bishops, his office being to summon councils; the bishop of Winton, his chancellor; the bishop of Sarum was his precentor, to begin the service when he was present; the bishop of Worcester was his chaplain; and Rochester his cross-bearer; and he contended strenuously for the same obedience from the archbishop of York, as he himself paid to the see of Rome." *Hasted's Kent*, *Selden's Titles*, and *Parker's Antiq.* He was also denominated *patriarch*, from his jurisdiction extending over England, Scotland, Ireland, and the

as that of the popes rose, and new orders of friars appeared, no less hungry, ambitious, energetic, and rapacious, than the Norman invaders. The conflicts of jarring interests, the undisguised efforts of knavery and folly, present little to engage the attention of the philosophical inquirer, and still less the feelings of the benevolent Christian. Auricular confession had extirpated every sentiment of chastity from the female heart * ; and ignorance and papal tyranny had reached that point of excess, which henceforward contributes to effect their own downfall. From this scene of human degradation we turn, with pleasure, to retrace that of human ingenuity, in the natural history of one of the first religious edifices extant.

Notwithstanding the numerous histories which have been written of Christ Church cathedral and priory, there is still much unknown respecting its origin and condition, previous to the Norman invasion. No writer mentions the first erection of a church where our cathedral now stands; but many authors suppose, with great probability, that the original building had been a temple, used by the Christians in the Roman army; that it had afterwards been converted into the service of idols by the Saxons; and finally given by Ethelbert to Augustine, for the purpose of a Christian church. It is not however presumed, that this same building remained perfect from the days of the Romans till those of the Normans; on the contrary, some edifice must have been erected here in the 7th or 8th century; and the strongest probability is, that archbishop Theodore, and abbot Adrian, the Carthaginian, commenced the work, which might be finished by archbishop Bregwine about 760 †. Gostling, indeed, and several other judicious

Anglo-gallic provinces; hence the appellation, "patriarch's chair," a seat composed of three stones, in the form of a chair, which still exists in the eastern end of the cathedral. The archbishopric once possessed sixty knights' fees, or 40,000 acres, as a barony. See Madox.

* For the consequences, see Bowles's admirable "Remarks on Female Manners." 2d edit.

† Ledwich, and other antiquaries, on the authority of a passage in Osbern, have dated its origin in 749; the former author considers the undercroft an "Iseum, or chapel of Isis, or an early imitation of Roman models." *Archæol.* v. 180. Among the ornaments still existing we recognised some very similar to those on the ruins of edifices at Carthage (Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*), and may have been imitated by Adrian. One of the Terracotas in the British Museum, No. 36, exhibits a curious specimen of two circular arches, with spiral fluted columns, having central bands, and a kind of billet ornament along the upper moulding of the arch, while the subjects beneath are all Egyptian, being the Nile, a boat, crocodiles, ibises, and a round house, with a circular headed door, like the ancient German houses on Trajan's column. Whoever compares these ornaments with those in our cathedral, will perceive the analogy. These facts tend to confirm the opinion of Ledwich, that the figures on the capitals in the undercroft are of Egyptian origin. This terracota, however, is supposed of Etruscan manufacture. A Syriac MS. of the Evangelists, written A. D. 586, has several figures of circular arches, with zigzag and billet ornaments, with foliated capitals, the leaves being split into a triangle at the base. Ledwich describes the figures on the capitals in the undercroft as an aelurus, or Egyptian cat, an ill-formed hawk killing a serpent, an Egyptian gryphon, a gladiator and lion, a horseman with a cap and trowsers, a sheep, a Roman equestrian figure, a double-headed anubis bestriding a double-headed crocodile, a man sitting on the head of another, and holding a fish and cup, a bird destroying a crocodile, a satyr on two deers, two birds on a Roman masque, a monster, having a cock's head, winged shoulders, body human, and playing with a bow on a violin; below it is a scalene triangle, opposite is a grotesque blowing a trumpet, the head and horns like a goat, posterior human; these he considered Egyptian hieroglyphics the import of which is ex-

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observers, consider the origin of the undercroft to be co-eval with that of Grynbold's crypt at Oxford, believed to be erected in the 9th century*. The similarity of the figures on the capitals of the columns has sanctioned this notion, which we feel no anxiety to controvert. Yet, although we have nothing but analogy and circumstances to support any opinion respecting the original church, and the erection of the present undercroft, the monk Edmer has given us an imperfect description of its primitive form. It appears to have been very simple, nearly a parallelogram, with two towers or entrance porches on its north and south side, very near its west end; at the east end was a part raised on arches, and terminating circularly, over which were two altars and a presbyterium. Under this elevated part was a crypt or undercroft, the floor of which was level with that of the choir, nave, and the entrance porches or transept, near the west end. At the extremity of the west end was another altar and archbishop's chair, somewhat raised above the floor of the nave and choir. Such was the plan of the ancient building, from which the present edifice gradually arose. That the floor of the undercroft was originally level with the adjacent grounds, cemetery gateway, &c. cannot be doubted. It is equally certain, that the existing buildings, from the western transept to Trinity chapel, as well as the north-west tower at the west end, were constructed long prior to the Norman invasion†. We know, from Osbern, that Odo, in 938, repaired the walls‡, and covered the whole roof with lead; which, as justly observed by Mr. Dallaway§, "is a very early instance of such an application of that metal." That Lanfranc, however, exerted himself to repair the building cannot be doubted; but as the walls of the choir are crooked, and otherwise marked with innovation, it is evident that they could not be built, as we now see them, by the same architect||.

plained by Porphyry, Tertullian, &c. Figures, not very dissimilar, lately existed in Xerez de la Frontera, and were ascribed to the Moors, yet it is probable that all of them may have had one common origin.

* Mr. Denne and Mr. Essex, two very respectable judges, consider it of a prior date. (Archæol. x.). Mr. Malcolm, *Gent. Mag.* for September 1813, gives a view of the pillar placed under the centre of an arch, in order to support it, as an undoubted work of Lanfranc; and certainly the pillar is more modern than the arch. The curious fillet ornament, on the south wall, outside, is ascribed to Odo by Mr. Denne.

† "The walls of the choir, even at this moment, have marks sufficient to justify the opinion, that they were built before the days of Anselm, or his predecessor Lanfranc. If we ascribe the removing and raising the altar, the pavement at that part with beautiful and costly stones, the adding the west cross isle and nave, and building the angel steeple (now called Bell-harry), to Anselm; and the priors Ernulph and Conrad, and the magnificent finishing of the whole, by the last of these, after Ernulph was made abbot of Peterborough, and the archbishop dead, I trust reason and history will join in confirming our opinion." *Gostling*.

‡ "The Danes," observes Gostling, "to destroy the roof, with which Odo had covered in this church, set fire to it by piling up wooden vessels for that purpose. This shews that if, before the Norman invasion, most of our monasteries and churches were of wood, all were certainly not so."—Egelnoth repaired the devastation of the Danes.

§ Wild's *Canterbury*, p. 2.

|| The misapplication of terms by monkish authors, certainly one of their most venial (dd)

It is true, some able writers* have called all the parts of this building, with Saxon arches, the work of Lanfranc; but this is satisfactorily answered by referring to the short period of only seven years, which Edmer says he was in completing it †. Others again, presuming that all the conflagrations ‡ which this cathedral has experienced, always occasioned a new re-edification, give it even a much more recent origin § than the days of Lanfranc ||. Accordingly, historians attribute the choir and its aisles to William Senensis, a professional architect, about 1160; who, being severely wounded by a fall on the building, returned to the continent to recover his health; the work which he had begun was finished by William Anglus, or the Englishman, one of the first natives recorded after the conquest, as a professor of the building art. To this same William Englishman is attributed the building of the eastern transept, Trinity chapel, and Becket's crown, about 1184. During the priorship of Henry de Estria, was erected the admirable screen at the west end of the choir ¶.

errors, has evidently misled many respectable modern writers, who have hence inferred, that the Normans were the architects of all our buildings. Thus, when Edmer says, that Lanfranc (not a Norman, but an Italian, like most of William's prelates,) built our cathedral *a fundamētis*, he could only mean, as observed by Mr. Dallaway, that he repaired it from the ground upwards. Gostling translates the passage very properly, "almost from the foundation."

* Brayley's Kent. As an instance of the influence of popular prejudice or habit, it may be observed, that many intelligent writers have called the architect, William Senensis, "William of Sens, in Normandy;" whereas Sens is in Champagne: could we rely on the orthography of this name, it clearly indicates him to be of Sienna in Italy, and not Sens in France. As to the erroneous term, "Norman architecture," it has been fully abandoned, by the acknowledgement of a writer in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1813, p. 536.

† More has been ascribed to Lanfranc than he merited, as appears from Somner: "I read," says he, "that archbishop L. was a great benefactor to the repair of the city walls.—So saith Mr. Lambard, and so Stow, followed by Speed. But no other story mentions it; no, not that of his life and acts, written by archb. Parker."

‡ According to Gervase, it suffered considerably by fire at three different times, in 1011, in 1061, and in 1174; the latter destroyed "Conrad's glorious choir;" the "lead from the roof was melted into the joints of the pavement, as appeared at the paving of the choir, about 1706, when some alterations being made in the pavement, as much of that lead was picked up by some of the workmen as made two large glue-pots."—Gostling.

§ Hence, perhaps, the erroneous statement of Stow, who says, that St. Paul's cathedral being burnt in 1087, Maurice, bishop of London, built another "upon arches or vaults of stone, for defence of fire; which was a manner of work, before that time, unknown to the people of this nation, and then brought in by the French; and the stone was fetched from Caen, in Normandy." St. Mary Bow church, London, being built about the same time and manner; that is, on arches of stone, was therefore called, he says, St. Mary le Bow, as Stratford bridge being first built with arches of stone, was called Stratford le Bow. "This, doubtless," observes Somner, "is that new kind of architecture, the continuer of Bede (whose words Malmesbury hath taken up) intends, where speaking of the Normans income, he saith you may observe every where in villages, churches; and in cities and villages, monasteries, erected with a new kind of architecture,—*nono genere edificandi*." Antiq. Cant. p. 66.

|| The monk Eadwin's drawing (Vetust. Monu.) made between 1130 and 1174, sufficiently disproves this notion.

¶ This worthy prior was elected in 1285, filled the office forty-seven years, and died at the age of ninety-two. According to the registers and obituary of the church, as cited by Battely, in 1304 and 5, he built the great stairs leading to the west door of the choir, and had this exquisite screen (now surmounted with the organ, built for Handel's commemoration), erected at an expense of £39l. 7s. 8d. Mr. J. Wild thinks the workmanship of this screen too fine to be erected at so early a period, but this is no objection to the clear statement of the facts by the least equivocal authority, the church records. The sculpture indeed is in some respects not surpassed, if not unequalled, in the present age; the series of recessed or tabernacled arches, forming the doorway into the choir, the canopied niches for Mary in the centre, and the apostles on

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From this period the cathedral remained till about 1377, when the western transept was re-edified, under the auspices of archbishop Sudbury, of Suffolk, who was barbarously murdered on Tower-hill, by the Wat Tyler rebels. The nave, cloisters, and chapter-house (a part only of the latter), are attributed to the skill and piety of prior Thomas Chillenden. This prior presided over the establishment from 1391 to 1411; and was aided in his labours at the cathedral by archbishops Courtney and Arundel. About 1412, the chantry of Henry IV. (pl. iii.) was constructed; but unfortunately its architect is not named. About 1455, prior Thomas Goldstone the first, built the south-west tower * and porch, and the virgin chapel, now called the deans', on the east side of the Martyrdom. Archbishop Chichely furnished him with money to carry on the works. Priors Selling and Goldstone the second, between 1472 and 1517, aided by archbishop Morton, raised the centre or Bell-harry tower (formerly the angel steeple). Agreeable to the taste of that age, rebusses or hieroglyphics of Goldstone and Morton still appear on this work, the former three gilded stones, and the latter, Mor and a tun. Such are the dates and names to which historians assign the erection of the various parts † of our cathedral; and it is worthy of remark, that among all the claimants for the honour of contributing to so noble an edifice, not one has assumed the merit of raising the north-west tower, which prior to 1703, was surmounted with a leaden spire, 100 feet high. This part, therefore, we may venture to consign to Saxon-English genius ‡. Of the same remote origin are the nameless towers on the west wall of the eastern transept on both sides of the choir. The tower also in the chapel of St. Andrew, now the prebendal vestry, on the north side of the cathedral,

each side, the finely-executed ornaments of roses and twisted vines, and the six regal statues in front, which, although somewhat mutilated, are still admirable examples of grace and dignity, present such an assemblage of ancient beauty and skill, that must equally gratify the artist, amateur, or casual observer. With respect to its age, sculpture is an art, not a science, and its excellence chiefly depends on manual dexterity, without any reference to mental cultivation. The finely-sculptured idols in the museum of the East India House, prove that the Hindoos, however deficient in scientific attainments, possess great mechanical address.

* It contains a ring of eight bells and a clock, which strikes the hours on a larger bell, weighing 7500lbs. This tower has been called Bell Dunstan and Oxford steeple, from its founder Chichely.

† Little attention has been paid to the mosaic work in Trinity chapel, noticed by Gough, which contained the zodiacal signs, some of which still exist, although much defaced. The figures are very curious and interesting, when considered with reference to our historical knowledge of astronomy. Sir W. Drummond has lately endeavoured to prove, that many parts of the Old Testament allude to the zodiac, and treats the subject with the levity of a child turning over dictionaries of unknown languages, and stopping at such words or characters as attract fancy or gratify caprice. But whoever reflects coolly on this head, will soon be convinced that our knowledge of the zodiac is so far beyond the powers of human invention, that it must originally have been revealed to man, and will consequently be neither surprised nor alarmed at finding allusions to it in the Bible. The worship of the planets is there clearly condemned.

‡ From the small stones of which it is built (according to Mr. Essex, Archæol. iv. on the antiquity of brick and stone buildings in England), we must consider its origin to be Saxon or English, prior to Norman times. If we calculate, with geologists, that stone, such as it consists of, exposed to the weather, loses by decomposition about one tenth of an inch every century, its actual state would indicate the lapse of at least nine centuries. Below this tower is the consistory court, a very plain apartment.

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has not been designated by any Italian or French name ; but that immediately opposite, on the south side, called after St. Peter and St. Paul, has latterly been denominated Anselm's, and contains vestries for minor canons. St. Michael's chapel (sometimes called the warriors', from its military monuments,) situated in the angle east side of the western transept and south wall of the choir, is likewise of an origin prior to the Normans : traces of the works of Odo, Lanfranc, and Sudbury, have been discovered in this curious structure. The octangular building, at the north extremity of the eastern transept, is the last part which we have to notice ; and its antiquity is manifested by its Saxon arches ; but whether it was originally used as a baptistery, like at present, or a lavatory for the monks, it is now useless to inquire.

Hence we discover, that the present edifice was completed but a very short time before the reformation. The change which then took place in religious sentiment was not perhaps greater than that in ecclesiastical architecture ; the latter however was in a great measure the consequence of the former. The diffusion of Greek and Roman literature naturally inspired a taste for classical architecture. The existence of idolism, the necessity of having lengthened vistas, monkish processions, numerous angles, places for lamps, images, altars, candles*, confessionals, &c. being removed by the introduction of reading the gospel and spiritual devotion ; the multiform churches, which prevailed during five centuries, were no longer expedient, and a more simple structure was generally adopted. It still however remains for some original genius to combine the beauties and utilities of the respective modes, to apply the principle of associating ideas, and produce a style of building, better adapted to our varying climate, and the purpose for which religious edifices are designed, than any yet in existence.

Of the national reformation itself, which so deeply affected our cathedral †, it is not here necessary to speak. Its history ‡ has often

* "The paschal taper," says Battely, "contained 300lbs. of wax, and seven other wax candles weighed 50lbs. ; procession candles were 2lbs. each ; and at the feast of the purification, each candle weighed 2lbs. ; and every altar candle 1lb." Before the numerous "images of the Virgin wax tapers were continually burning,"—"incense to the queen of heaven." Dart has given a list of 36 entire gods, and relics of 445 others, consisting of bones, pieces of wood, cloth, stones, Mary's milk, &c. all of which were to be lighted ; besides, 531 deaths to be annually commemorated, between the Norman revolution and the 14th century. This enormous consumption of wax was, perhaps, the most rational thing then existing, as their gods "must needs be borne, because they could not go," so as they were "in darkness they must be illuminated."

† "The title of dean was restored to the church of Canterbury, on its new foundation, by Henry VIII. ; deans having preceded priors in its monastical establishment." From Augustine to Wilfred the archbishop presided in person without either dean or prior ; from Wilfred to Lanfranc the church was governed by deans, chiefly seculars, wearing the dress, but not observing the rules of monkish orders, from Lanfranc to the dissolution of the convent, the chiefs were called priors. Henry was the last dean and first prior, about 1080. Thos. Goldwill, the 49d and last prior, surrendered the convent to Henry VIII. in 1540 ; and in April 1541, letters were issued incorporating the new society of a dean, 12 prebendaries, 6 preachers, 12 minor canons, &c. Battely, Le Neve, and Dart, date this establishment in 1542, contrary to the statement of Ridley, dean Wotton's monument, and other authorities. Todd's *Deans of Canterbury*.

‡ The integrity of history has been ably and elegantly vindicated by sir Egerton Bridges,

been written ; but there exists not (in 1814) any adequate account of its origin, progress, and subsequent effects on society *. The frivolous casuistry, levity, or censure, which it has occasioned, are equally unworthy of sound reason or Christian philosophy. Till the annals of man afford an event of equal magnitude, where greater good was accompanied with less evil, where so much national happiness was effected with so little individual suffering †, where its votaries evinced more moderation or clemency, and its enemies experienced less chastisement, on every principle of induction, of fair reasoning from our experience, it challenges unqualified approbation from weak and erring men ‡. Those who arraign it betray very imperfect conceptions of the effects of idolatry ; and seem absurdly to suppose, that great crimes may be removed without occasioning any inconvenience to the criminals !

With the reform terminated the practice of erecting episcopal tombs ; and cardinal Pole is the last prelate whose sumptuous mausoleum is the most durable testimony of his munificence. The Protestant prelates §, instead of expending immense sums to raise splendid monuments, devoted their incomes to the propagation of knowledge, the establishment of schools and colleges ||, the relief of the indigent, and were contented with an humble bed in some parochial church. It is in vain we look among the papists ¶ for such prelates as Cranmer, Parker,

M. P. in his "Censura Literaria," and "Ruminator." The essays of this gentleman have been aptly denominated "the effusions of benevolence in the temple of Taste and nursery of Genius."

* On this subject there are two or three modern French prize essays well worthy perusal.

† We might contrast the conduct of the reformers with that of Lewis XIV. and observe the unmerited cruelties inflicted on the helpless protestants. "The conversion of the reformed," says Richerand, *Elements de Physiologie*, "in Cevennes, was effected by extending them on a bench, and tickling the soles of their feet, till, overpowered by this torture, they abjured their creed ; while many died in the convulsions which the tickling excited." See also Saumarez's "Oration to the Medical Society of London, 1813." If this author would confine himself to professional and moral subjects he might be a useful and even popular writer ; but the Newtonian philosophy is beyond his province ; and he calumniates Newton with as little reason as Dr. T. Thomson, in his "Annals of Philosophy," alias "Annals of Spleen," falsely pretends, that this great philosopher and Christian was not orthodox. Thomson's vulgar prejudice against bishops induces him to suppose a cause for the non-publication of Newton's religious writings ; and then assert it as a fact, although he admits his ignorance of the truth.

‡ In Milner's Church History, vol. v. there is a brief, candid account of the reformation.

§ For some interesting traits of their characters, see Nichols's *Intertaining Anecdotes*, and Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*.

|| A French ambassador inquired what works archbishop Whitgift had published, on being answered, with the addition, that he had founded an hospital and a school at Croydon, he replied, "truly, an hospital for relieving the poor, and a school for instructing youth, are the best books which an archbishop can write."

¶ The rev. J. C. Esstace, author of some bulky volumes about Italy, prefaced by professions of candour, but full of erroneous descriptions, superstition, and sentimental nonsense (which his reviewers have not noticed), has published what he calls an "Answer" to the bishop of Lincoln's charge. He acknowledges, that he owes "honour and jurisdiction to the pope," (very comprehensive terms for a free-born Briton to a foreign and hostile prince), but is quite enraged at being called a *papist*, although he professes obedience to him, which none of the Calvinists, Lutherans, or any other reformed denomination, ever professed to any but Christ. His pretended "answer" indeed is a tissue of vulgar scurrility, malicious abuse, impudent assertions of what is virtually untrue, false morality, and worse logic, fully proving the propriety of the term *papist*, as we here use it ; and also the deplorable state of moral and intellectual degradation in which papists still continue.

(hh)

Juxon, Sheldon (who gave nearly 70,000*l.* in charities), Tillotson, Potter, and many others; but their admirable lives and works are so accessible to every lover of truth, that their names alone must excite the most pleasing reflections on human nature.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Total exterior length 530 feet; interior ditto 514; length of the Nave from the west door to the entrance of the choir 214 feet; breadth of ditto 71 feet; height of ditto to the vaulted roof 80 feet; length of the choir 180 feet; interior breadth of ditto 38 feet; exterior, including its aisles, 62 feet; height of ditto to the vaulting 71 feet. Length of Trinity chapel and Becket's crown 120 feet; Trinity chapel is 63 feet broad, and 58 high; Becket's crown is 32 feet in diameter. The western Transept is 124 feet long and 34 broad; it contains the central tower, which is 235 feet high, and 36 in diameter; and its interior vaulting 132 feet high. The eastern Transept is 154 feet long, 30 broad, and 71 high. Dean's chapel is 37 feet by 21 broad, and 36 high. Chantry of Henry IV. is 14 feet long by 9 broad, and 10 and a half high at the west end. St. Michael's chapel is 34 feet long, by 21 broad, and 59 high. The baptistery (attributed by Gostling to Cuthbert) is 17 feet in diameter. The cloisters form a square, 134 feet on each side; and the chapter-house is 92 feet long, only 37 wide, and 54 high. The south-west tower is 130 feet high; the north-west only 100.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

- Plate 1.** Presents a view of Becket's crown, the eastern transept of the cathedral, and part of the city wall, with one of the ancient towers. The Prospect is taken from St. Augustine's.
- Plate 2.** An ancient Tomb, said to be that of archbishop Theobald; it is ornamented with heads, dressed according to the ecclesiastical gradations, from simple monk to papal legate.
- Plate 3.** Chantry of Henry IV. to which two priests were nominated to say mass, for the repose of his soul. *This beautiful little chapel is remarkable for its power of augmenting sound.* On its south side, within the cathedral, was the Confessional.
- Plate 4.** A South-east View of the cathedral, from Trinity chapel to its western extremity; near the centre appears a fine window in St. Anselm's chapel, the old cemetery gate, and the windows of the semi-circular chapels on the east side of the eastern transept.
- Plate 5.** Interior of Trinity chapel; Theobald's tomb appears on the left; in the centre, that of Odo Colligny, cardinal Castillon, who was poisoned by his popish servants, on his protestant visit to queen Elizabeth (his brother was one of the martyrs of St. Bartholomew). Enclosed by an iron railing is Edward the Black Prince's tomb; the gaudy screen, shown in the distance, was given by bloody Mary; west of it is the choir, and above it the triforium.
- Plate 6.** Exhibits the groining of the cloister, with the state entrance to the archbishop's palace, consisting of a great and small doorway. At the intersections of the ribs are escutcheons with arms, supposed to be those of benefactors, amounting to 685.
- Plate 7.** The Treasury, seen from the garden of the rev. Mr. W. Bennet, a minor canon; it displays much variety of circular and intersecting Saxon arches, richly ornamented.
- Plate 8.** The Western and the Central Tower. The buildings in front are remains of the archiepiscopal palace.
- Plate 9.** The Western Towers, with part of the north side of the nave and west cloister.
- Plate 10.** An ancient Staircase, leading to what is now called the Registry; the ascent is between two ranges of small Saxon arches, supported by slender columns, the capitals and arches are exquisitely sculptured.
- Plate 11.** A View taken from St. Anselm's chapel, looking across the choir, and exhibiting the double triforium. Archbishop Mepham's tomb appears in front.
- Plate 12.** A prospect of the South Front of the cathedral, with the entrance porch on the south-west; in this finely-executed porch are niches which formerly contained statues of the chevaliers who put Becket to death; the view is taken from Christ Church gate.
- Plate 13.** Represents an ancient Tower, in the south end of the eastern transept, covered with Saxon ornaments; part of the cemetery gateway, and, in the distance, Becket's crown.
- Plate 14.** A Doorway, from the north side of the cloisters, leading into the garden of Mrs. Prince, formerly the way into the apartments of the cellarer, "father of the priory;" in the distance, a fine arch appears, twenty-six feet in span, overgrown with shrubbery.
- Plate 15.** A View in the Undercroft, adjoining the eastern transept; in the centre are seen archbishop Morton's tomb; and beyond it, the chapel of the Virgin Mary, which was extremely rich, and splendidly decorated with gilded stars on a blue ground, representing the "starry throne" of her celestial majesty.
- Plate 16.** The West end of the Chapter-house, seen from the cloisters, with part of a fine tier of Saxon arches, which are alternately filled up with masonry.
- Plate 17.** The Frontispiece to Vol. I.; it represents the shattered remains of a most admirably sculptured Saxon archway, leading to the great dormitory, which was safely preserved, under a coat of mortar, during several centuries, till August 1813, when it was determined to open the place; but, unfortunately, the execution of this laudable design was entrusted a rude mechanic, whose sacrilegious hands, with a few desperate blows, soon broke in pieces one of the finest specimens of ancient art.

CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

ARCHBISHOPS.

Augustine	597	Ethelnoth	1090	William Wittlesey	1808
Lawrence	604	Eadsius or Eadsin	1038	Simon Sudbury	1375
Mellitus	619	Robert	1051	Wm. Courtney (8)	1381
Justus	624	Stigand.	1052	Thomas Arundel (9)	1396
Honorius	630	Lanfranc	1070	Roger Walden <i>interposed.</i>	
<i>Vacant Eighteen months.</i>		<i>Vacant Four Years.</i>		H. Chichely (10)	1414
Deusdedit	655	Anselm	1093	John Stafford	1443
<i>Vacant Four Years.</i>		<i>Vacant Five Years.</i>		John Kemp	1453
Dimianius or Wigard	667	Ralph	1114	T. Bourchier (11)	1454
Theodore	668	Wm. Corboil	1123	John Morton (12)	1486
Brithwald	692	<i>Vacant Two Years.</i>		Henry Dean	1501
Tatwine	731	Theobald	1138	W. Warham (18)	1503
Nothelm	735	<i>Vacant Two Years.</i>		Thos. Cranmer (14)	1583
Cuthbert	741	Thos. Becket	1162	Reginald Pole (15)	1556
Bregwine	759	<i>Vacant Three Years.</i>		Matt. Parker (16)	1559
<i>Vacant Two Years.</i>		Richard	1173	Edm. Grindal (17)	1575
Jaenberght	762	Baldwin	1184	John Whitgift (18)	1583
<i>Vacant Three Years.</i>		<i>Vacant Two Years.</i>		Rich. Bancroft (19)	1604
Athelard	793	Hubert Walter	1193	George Abbot (20)	1611
Vulfhred	807	<i>Vacant Two Years.</i>		William Laud	1633
Ceolnoth	831	Stephen Langton	1207	<i>Vacant Sixteen Years.</i>	
Athelred	870	Rich. Wethershed	1229	William Juxon (21)	1660
Plegmund	890	Edmund	1234	Gilbert Sheldon (22)	1663
Athelm	924	Boniface	1241	William Sancroft	1677
Wifhelm	928	Robt. Kilwardby	1272	John Tillotson	1691
Odo	941	John Peckham	1279	Thomas Tenison	1694
Elaine	958	Robt. Winchelsey (1)	1293	William Wake	1716
Brithelm	959	Walter Reynolds	1313	John Potter (23)	1737
Dunstan	961	Simon Mephram (2)	1327	Thomas Herring	1747
Ethelgar	988	J. Stratford (3)	1333	Matthew Hutton	1757
Siricius	989	John de Ufford (4)	1348	Thomas Secker	1758
Alfric	995	T. Bradwardin (5)	1349	Frederic Cornwallis	1768
Elphage	1006	Simon Islip (6)	1349	John Moore	1783
Living	1013	Simon Langham (7)	1366	C. MANNERS SUTTON	1805

DEANS.

Ceolnoth	820	Alfric—Kinsin—Maurice	Ethelnoth	1018
Egelwin	831	Alsine—Ælfwine—Athelaine	Godric	1090

PRIORS.

Henry	1080	Honorius	1186	Ric. Gillingham	1370
Ernulf	1096	Roger Norris *	1189	Step. Mongeham	1376
Conrad	1107	Osbern de Bristo	1190	J. Finchde Winchelsy	1377
Gosfride	1126	Galfride	1191	Thos. Chillenden	1391
Elmer	1128	J. de Chittham	1206	J. Woodnesburgh	1411
Jeremy	1137	Walter III.	1217	Wm. Mollush	1428
Walter	1143	J. de Sittingburn	1222	J. Sariabury, D.D.	1438
Walter Parvus	1149	R. de la Lee	1234	John Elham	1446
Wybert	1153	Nic. de Sandwich	1244	Thos. Goldstone I.	1449
Oliver	1167	R. de St. Elphage	1258	John Oxney	1468
Richard	1172	A. de Chillenden	1263	Wm. Petham	1471
Odo	1173	Thomas Ryngmere	1274	Wm. Sellyng	1478
Benedict	1175	Henry de Estria	1285	T. Goldstone II.	1486
Harlewin	1177	Ric. de Oxinden	1331	T. Goldwell (surrendered in 1540)	1517
Alan	1179	Robt. Hathbrand	1338		

* Rog. Norris.—He was made abbot of Evesham, where, says Girald. Cambrensis, "he behaved himself in a wretched and scandalous manner, giving an unbounded loose to luxury and lust, seducing young maids from their parents, and debauching all that came in his way, hunting and searching through the manors and villages belonging to the monastery, various objects for his vicious appetite, and had so far thrown off all fear of God and shame of men, that he had at one time no less than twenty-two bastards!"

CANTERBURY.

DEANS.

N. Wotton (24)	1540	J. Tillotson	1672	Hon. B. North	1770
Thomas Godwin	1566	John Sharp	1689	John Moore	1771
Ric. Rogers	1584	George Hooper	1691	Hon. J. Cornwallis	1775
Thomas Neville (25)	1597	George Stanhope	1703	George Horne	1781
C. Fotherby	1615	Elias Sydall	1728	William Buller	1790
John Boys	1619	John Lynch	1734	F. H. Wal. Cornwall	1792
Isaac Bargrave	1625	William Freind	1760	Thomas Powys	1797
George Eglington	1642	John Potter	1766	S. G. ANDREWS	1809
Thomas Turner	1643				

(1) A most hospitable man; on Sundays and Fridays he fed 4000 persons when corn was cheap, and 5000 when dear; he gave pensions and charities to all worthy indigent people, and refused the dignity of cardinal and pope, although he was too obedient to the latter.—(2) He was excommunicated by the pope in a moment of spleen, and died shortly after, but could not be buried till abbot Thomas Poncy of St. Augustine, and his successor, took off the excommunication.—(3) Translated from Winchester.—(4) The expense of procuring his appointment from the pope sunk him in debt, and by his dying shortly after, many of his creditors were ruined; “at that time great preferments went at such a high rate, that the purchasers could scarcely, in long time, reimburse themselves.”—(5) Was a prelate of considerable learning and talent, called doctor Profundus; to his advice and discourses are attributed much of the king’s success against the French.—(6) He imposed a tax on his clergy to appropriate to his own purposes, obtained the exemption of the clergy from secular judgment, but ordained clerical convicts to imprisonment and mean diet for life.—(7) He was made cardinal, and being so elated with the honour, he announced it in parliament before letting the king know; for this his temporalities were seized; nevertheless he is reputed a wise and good man.—(8) Persecuted the Wickliffites rigorously.—(9) Was lord Chancellor, but was impeached and exiled, yet afterwards returned with and crowned Henry IV.; he was the first who applied fire and faggots to the Wickliffites.—(10) Was appointed legate, but wisely declined acting without the king’s permission.—(11) Was made a cardinal but resigned it.—(12) A public-spirited and beneficent prelate, also a cardinal and statesman, who maintained an unblemished reputation.—(13) Was a patron of learning, a friend to Erasmus, a good and able prelate, statesman, and reformer.—(14) The martyr whose life should be familiar to every Christian, and one of the fourteen divines who composed the Common Prayer.—(15) A cardinal who persecuted protestantism, not because he believed it erroneous, but to avenge his revenge against king Henry; his “fresh colour, lively sparkling eyes, and cheerful look,” perhaps led to his “nocturnal interviews with queen Mary.”—(16) A learned ecclesiastical antiquary, founder of the Society of Antiquaries. The brutal indignity to the corpse of this pious and learned prelate by one Hardyng, during the rebellion, is well known.—(17) Master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge; he fled to Germany from the flames during Mary and Bonner’s reign, returned at the desire of Elizabeth, and wrote many useful reforming works, particularly the dialogue between Truth and Custom, in Fox’s Martyrology.—(18) A successor both in college and episcopal honours of the preceding; the queen jocosely called him her “black husband;” he satisfactorily answered all the arguments of the famous puritan Cartwright, converted the separatists by the superiority of his reasons, and the apostolic meekness of his temper. Cartwright aimed at making the political subservient to the ecclesiastical government, and reviled Whitgift, who forgave him, and patronized him on his return to right reason. Sutcliffe accused Cartwright of avarice, “a man that hath more landes of his own in possession than any bishop, that faireth daintily, and feedeth fayre and fatte, and lyeth as soft as any tenderling, and hath woone much wealth in short time, &c.”—(19) The puritans felt this prelate’s writings more than those of any other.—(20) Lord Charendon says “he was of morose manners, sower looks, ignorant of the church constitution, encouraged and screened railers at church government.” His successor was a very opposite character, and fell a martyr during the rebellion, in his seventy-first year.—(21) A man whom malice could not accuse; he advised the king against the attainder of lord Strafford, and attended this unfortunate sovereign to the scaffold; he retired during the rebellion, and at the restoration was made metropolitan; “he was a learned man, a pious divine, a faithful counsellor, an enemy to all persecution, and so inoffensive in his life, that he was suffered to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, a courtesy then granted to few.”—(22) This prelate and his successor evinced great industry in teaching the catechism, although the latter was a jacobite, and resigned at the revolution.—(23) A prelate, whose learning and talents are well known to Europe, but he was unfortunate in his family affairs, as often happens to literary men, and, in consequence, has been censured with some asperity on a point of which few or no strangers are capable of judging.—(24) A great and faithful negotiator, a privy counsellor to Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth; ambassador several times in France, Germany, Spain, Cleves, and the Netherlands.—(25) This divine erected in 1609 one of the finest buildings in Cambridge, called after him, Neville’s Court, Trinity College. Its measurement is 928 feet by 925 S. and N. 148 by 132 W. and E. Dr. Neville was then master of Trinity, yet his name and works are strangely omitted in Dyer’s Hist. of Camb.

INDEX TO CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

* * * *The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.*

Augustine, his reluctant voyage to, and arrival in Kent, *b*; not the first propagator of Christianity there, *ib.*; entry into Canterbury, *c*; bigotted and overbearing, *ib.*; quarrelled with the British Christians, *ib.*; his consecrations, *d*; his pride, *ib.*; fabulous miracles, &c. ascribed to him, *e*; his memory insulted by the pretences of monks, *ib.* N.; not guilty of the Bangor massacre, *ib.*; had but little religion, *ib.*—Arimathea, Joseph of, taught Christianity in Britain, *a*.—Atheibred, persecuted and ejected secular priests, *m*.—Ælfric, his protestant homilies, *p*; his equality of Peter, exposition of the eucharist, condemns image-worship, *ib.* N.—Anselm, character of his writings, *a* N.; his flattery of Lanfranc, *ib.*; his haughtiness when in power, *ib.*; his vanity permitted the inferior clergy to kiss his feet, *e* N.; absurdly canonized, *a* N.; his chapel, *ib.*—Absolutions granted for murder by prostituting women, *y* N.—Addington-house, a new palace, purchased for the archiepiscopal see by Dr. M. Sutton, *aa* N.—Archbishop of Canterbury, rank and titles of, *bb* N.—Arches, circular, with billet ornament on a terracotta, *cc*; origin of ornamented ones, *ib.*—Architecture, new kind, *ee* N.—Archbishops, list of, *kk*.

Bertha, queen of Ethelbert, originally a Christian, *b*.—Brithwald, encouraged learning, and falsely accused of supporting celibacy and image-worship, *k*; opposed papal interference, *ib.*—Blood-letting, ceremonies of, among the monks, *a* N.—Becket, his conspiracy with the pope, *x*; his origin from the savage Syrians, *ib.*; abused and irritated the knights who put him to death, *ib.*; his monument and miracles, a good speculation for the monks, *z* N.—Baldwin makes a noble effort to check the ambition of Christ-church monks, *y*; his itinerary, *ib.*—Biaquiere's letters on auricular confession in Sicily, *bb* N.—Bowles, Mr. on female manners, *cc* N.—Bow, a word used for arch, *ee* N.—Bridges, sir Egerton, on the integrity of history, *gg* N.

Canterbury, origin of its name, *a*; a Roman station, *ib.*; early seat of Christianity, *ib.*; entry of Augustine and his companions into, *c*; effects of early civilization in, *k*; character of the people, *bb* N.—Christianity, not established in Britain by papal missionaries, *a* N.—Christians, nominal, *c* N.; horrid massacre of British, *ib.*; defended by the Augustinians, *e*.—Church, built by the Romans on the site of the cathedral, *b* N.; erection of, patriotic, *m* N.; English, same as the primitive, *p* N.—Cuthbert, adopts burying in churchyards, *l*; held a synod to restrain clerical licentiousness, *ib.*; first who favoured the pope, *ib.*—Cathedral, burnt by the Danes, *g*; repaired by Canute, *ib.*; divine service in, suspended after Becket's death, *x*; origin of, very remote, *cc* N.; dimensions of, *ii*.—Celibacy of priests, its effects, *z*; a Jewish curse, *ib.* N.; cruelty perpetrated in support of, *ib.*; unknown in the Sax. church, *ib.*—Crimes occasioned by auricular confession in Sicily, *bb* N.

(mm)

—Concubines, allowed to Spanish priests when the English were denied wives, *e* N.—Clergy, married, eulogy on, by pope Paschal, *a*.—Chapel, Anselm's, prison in, *a* N.; used for keeping a mistress, *ib.*—Crema, cardinal, a papal legate railed against marriage, and was caught with a prostitute, *a* N.—Clergy, murder of, pardoned by the pope, *y* N.—Cardinal, ceremony of stopping his mouth, *z* N.—Croydon, ruined palace at, how appropriated, *aa* N.—Confession, auricular, hideous consequences of, *bb* N.; extirpates chastity, *cc*.—Choir, Conrad's glorious, destroyed, *ee* N.

Deuseddit, first native prelate in our see, *g*.—Dunstan, his infamous character, *o*.—Dance, their desolations, *q*.—Denne, Mr. on the building of the church, *d* N.—Dallaway, Mr. on leaden roofs, *dd*.—Drummond, sir W. on the zodiac, *ff* N.—Dean, title restored at the reformation, *gg* N.—Dimensions of the cathedral, *ii*.—Deans, list of, *kk*.

Ethelbert, king, a Christian, builds a monastery, *f*.—Elsine, a secular priest, avowedly hostile to monks, *a*; a friend to king Edwy, and therefore calumniated, *ib.*—Edwy, king, died by the monks, *a*; calumniated by them all down to Milner, *ib.*—Elstob, E. proves that the church of England is the same church which prevailed during the first six centuries of the Christian era, *p* N.—Elphage, murdered by the Danes, *q*.—Ethelnoth influenced Canute to good works, *q*.—Eadsius cruelly used by Edward Confessor, *q*.—Enthronization, feast of, excesses at, *a* N.—Edinburgh Reviewer, ignorance and blunders of, in No. 43, respecting Spanish laws, *e* N.—Enthronization, ceremonies of, *ae*.—Edward, king, asserts his royal prerogative in the nomination of prelates, *ae* N.—Essex, Mr. considers the undercroft older than Grymbald, *dd* N.—Englishman, Wm. or Anglus, the architect, *ee*.—Eadwin, the monk, view of Christchurch cathedral, *ee* N.—Eustace, J. C. a papal writer about Italy, full of errors, *aa* N.; abuses bishop Tomline scurrilously, *ib.*; professes obedience to a foreigner, *ib.*

Faith, religious, not to be appreciated by numbers, *c*.—Frecher, W. prostitutes his wife to the pope, *y* N.—Friars, origin, distinction and character of, *z* N.; application of this term to all cloistered religious, *bb* N.; propagandists, *ib.*; revolutionize the papal church, *ib.*

Gibbon on monastic life, *bb* N.; Gregory, pope, the great, a man of superior mind, *c*; his liberal sentiments to Augustine to adopt every thing good, *ib.* N.; his letters prove his knowledge of man, *d*; his wish to disseminate Christianity, *ib.*—Geotling on the building of the cathedral, *dd* N.; its walls of Saxon workmanship, *ib.*—Geologists, on the duration of stone, *ff* N.

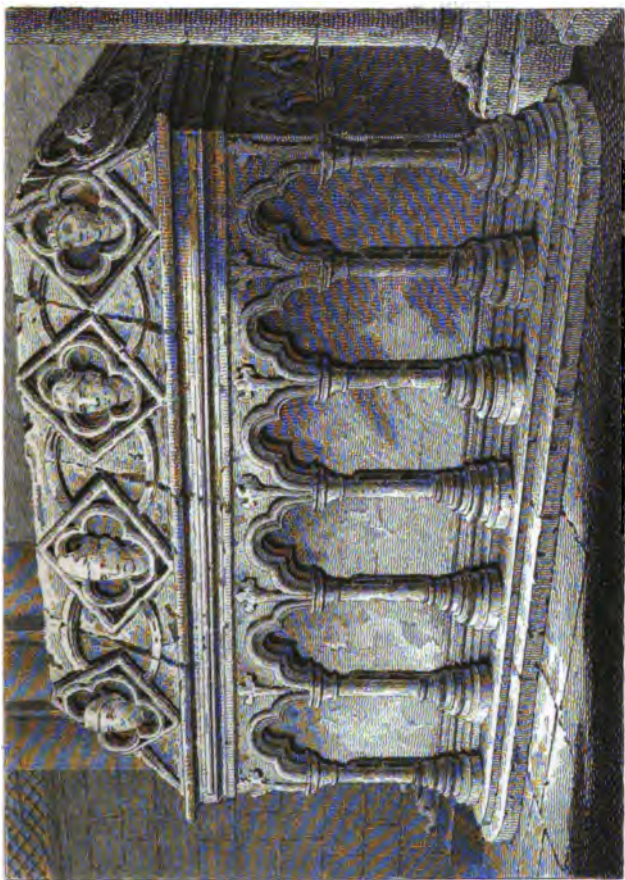
Huntingdon, H. character of Edwy, *a* N.—Homilies, Saxon, the same as those of the church of England, *p* N.—Henry IV. chantry of, its power of augmenting sound, *ii*.

Investiture of bishops, right of, by the staff and ring in the English kings, *i*; lost by Ru-



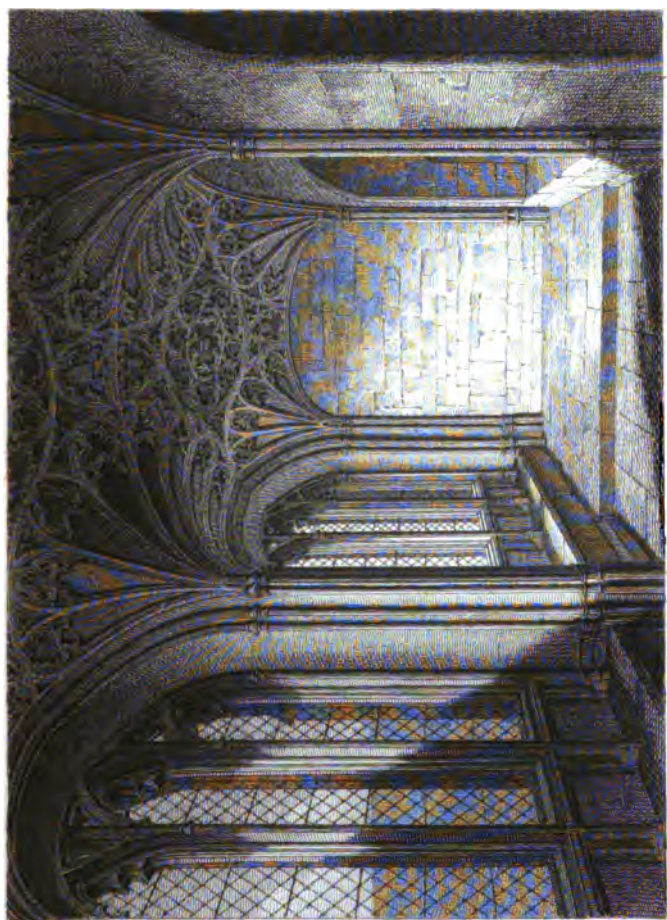
A View of Canterbury Cathedral.

Published Nov. 1811 by Thomas Agnew & Sons, 10, Pall Mall, London.

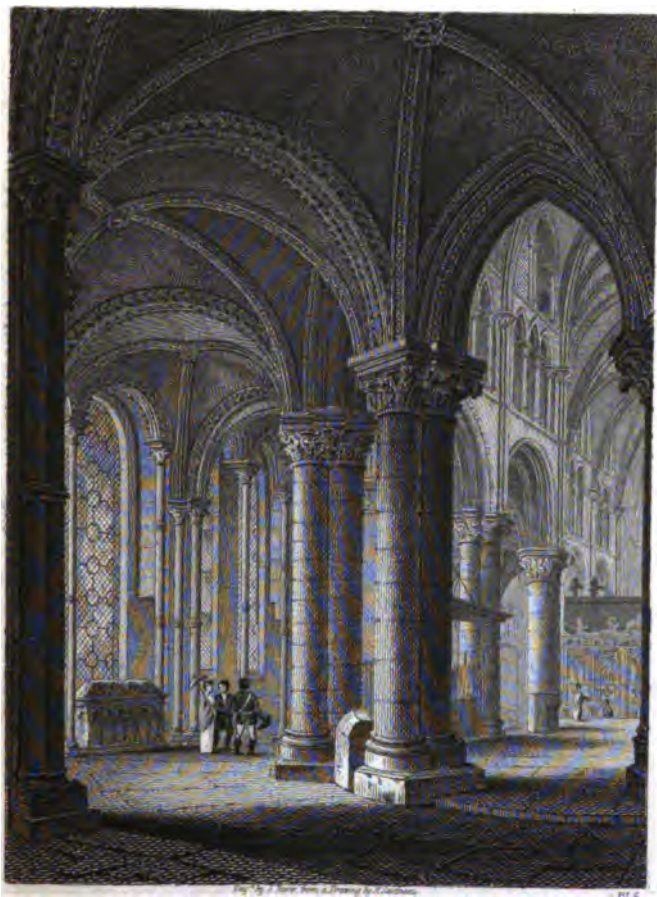


View of the Bishop's Throne, 'Canterbury Cathedral'.

From the 'Canterbury Cathedral'.



View of the Chapel, Wells Cathedral.



Canterbury Cathedral, from the entrance to Becket's Choir.

Published Nov. 1845 by J. Storer, King & Co. Stationers, St. Paul's.

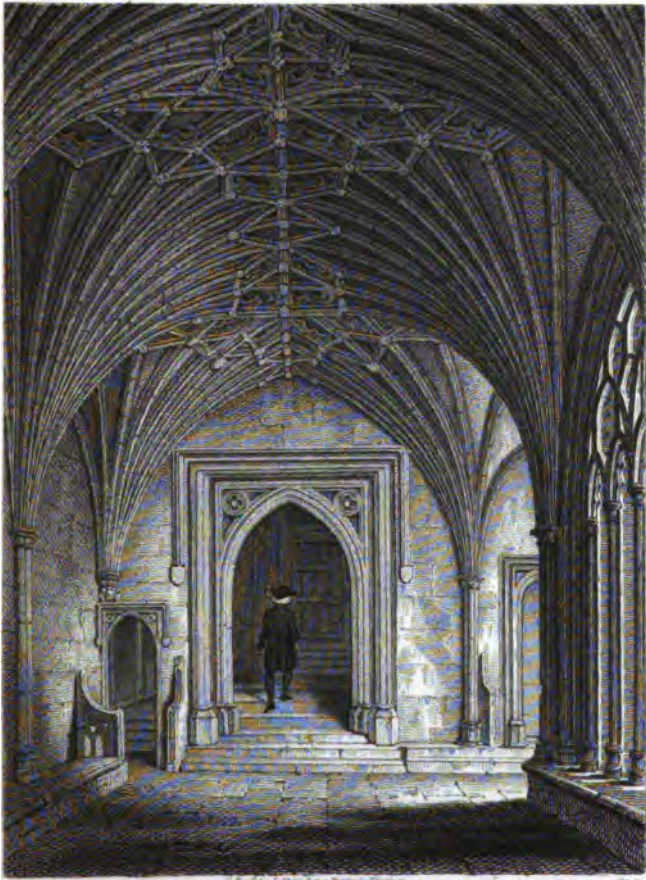


Fig. 1. The Cloisters, from a Drawing by H. H. H. H.

Plat. 6.

Interior of the Cloisters, Canterbury Cathedral.

Engraved from a Drawing by H. H. H. H.



Engraved by J. G. Thompson del.

317

The Treasury, Canterbury Cathedral

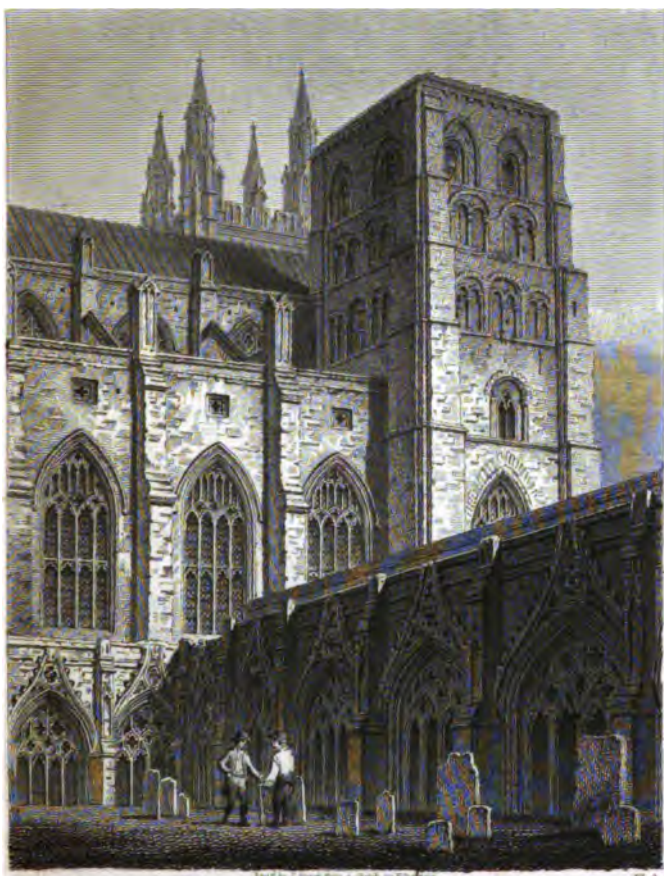
Published by J. G. Thompson, 10, St. James's Place, London, W.



A View of Canterbury Cathedral.

Painted from the sketch by J. G. Smith, and engraved by J. G. Smith.



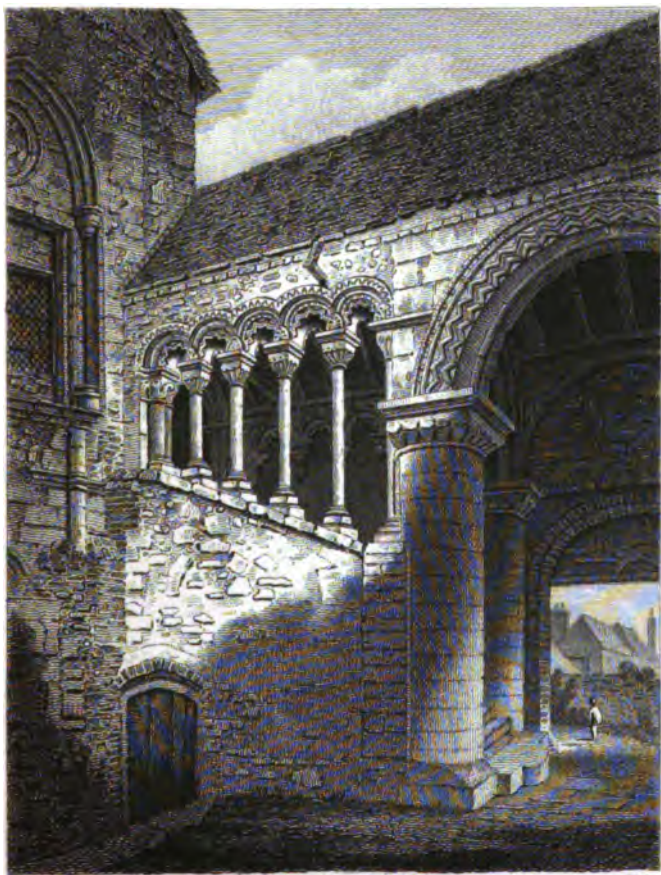


Engraving of the interior of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

27.0

Part of the Nave, Canterbury Cathedral.

The interior of the Cathedral, from the Choir, looking towards the Nave.

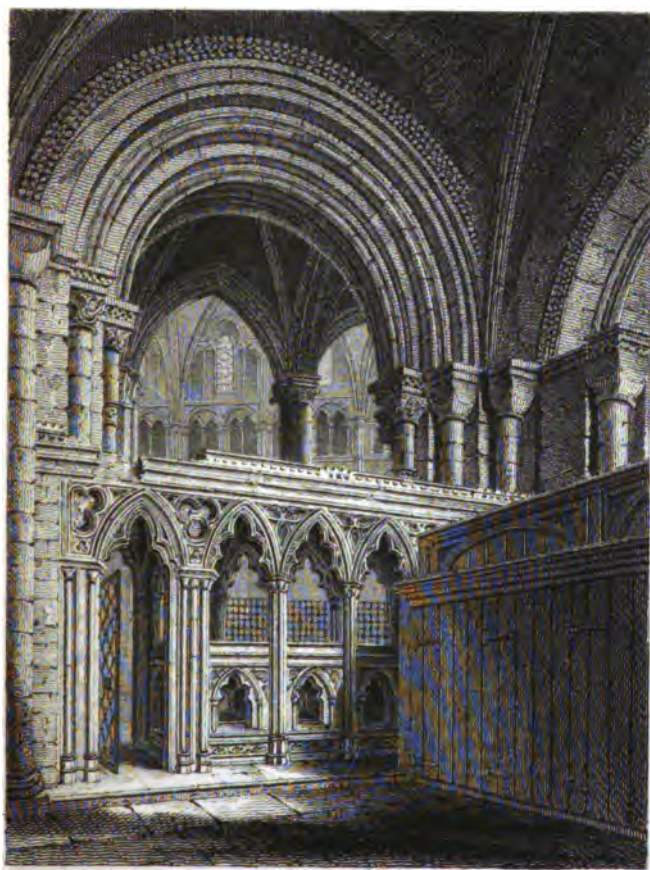


Eng. by J. G. Smith from a sketch by W. G. Smith.

R.M.

The Registry Canterbury Cathedral.

Published by the Architect, Mr. G. G. Scott, & the Cathedral Chapter.



See the Choir from a distance by Knapton.

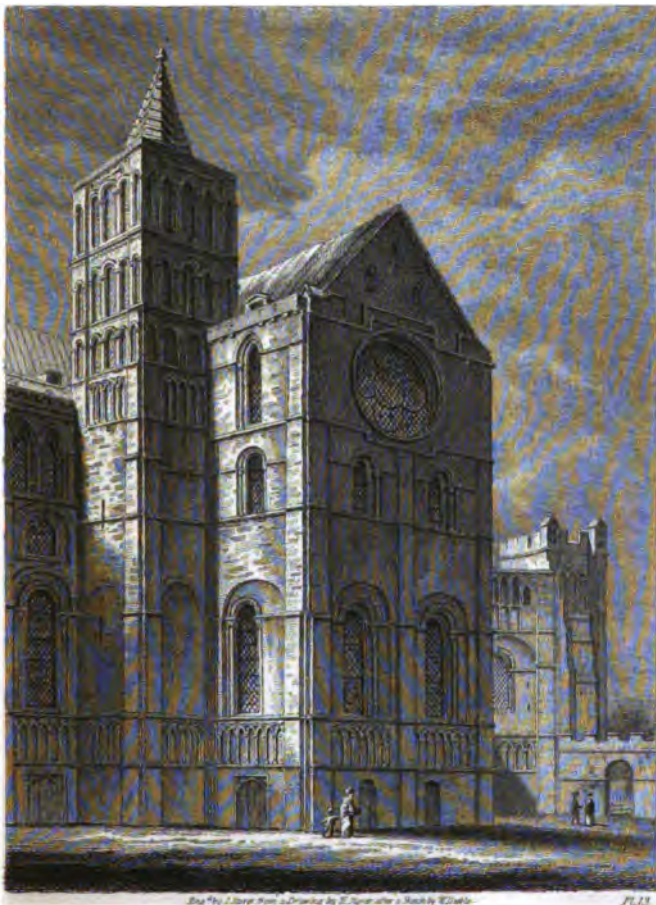
PLATE.

St. Anselm's Chapel, & part of the Choir, Canterbury Cath.

Engraved by W. B. Smith. Printed by J. Smith, London.



West View of Canterbury Cathedral.

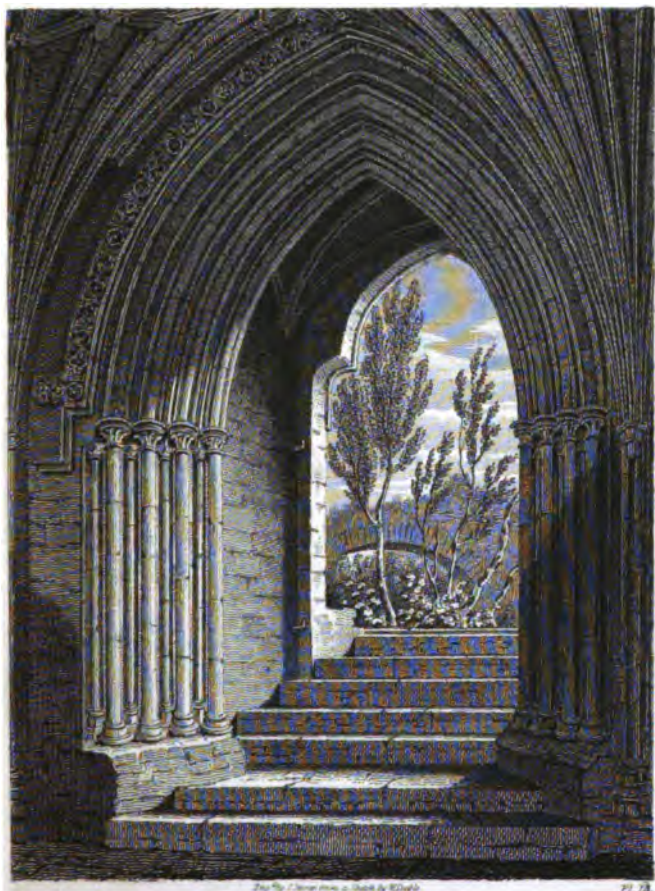


Eng. by J. H. H. from a Drawing by E. B. Roper after a Sketch by W. D. Hoare.

J. H. H.

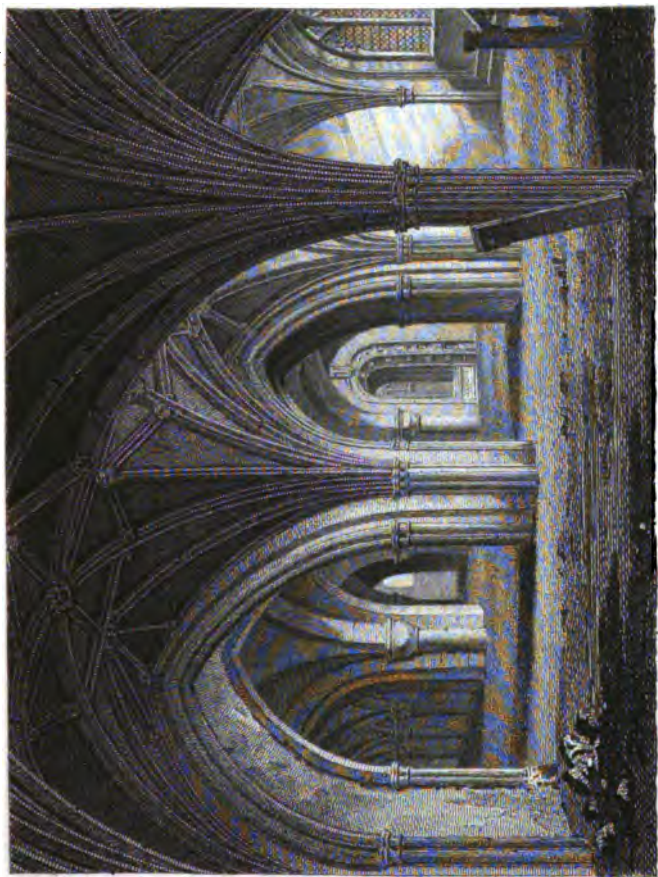
The Eastern Trancept Canterbury Cathedral.

Published Feb. 1844 by Thomas & Son, Pall Mall.



View from the N. side of the cloisters Canterbury Cath.

Published by Andrew Knight, Pall Mall, 1794.

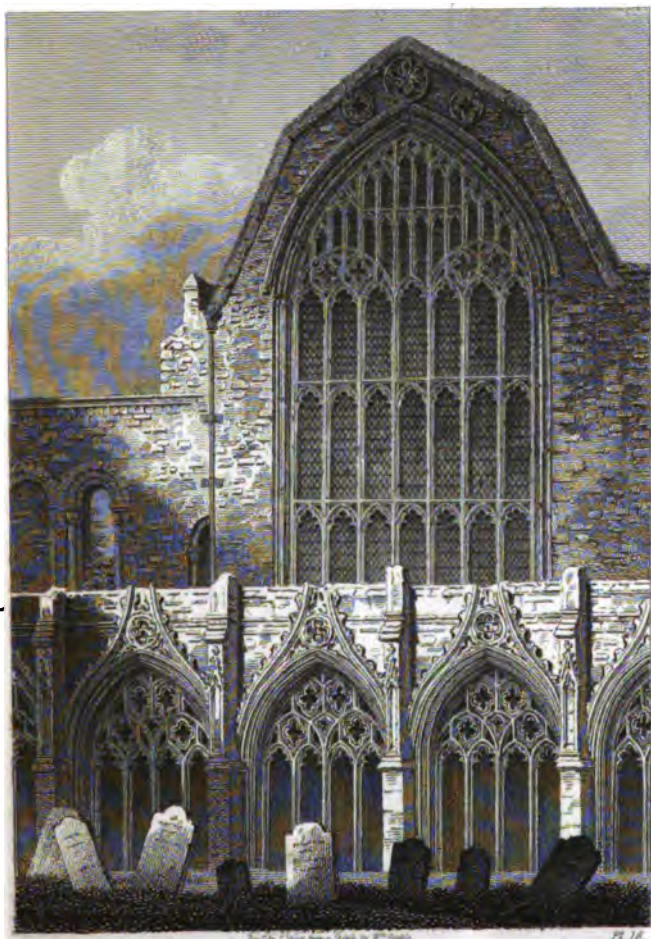


The Abbey Church of St. Augustine, Canterbury, by J. G. Smith, after a sketch by W. G. Smith.

The History of Canterbury Cathedral

By the Rev. John G. Smith, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

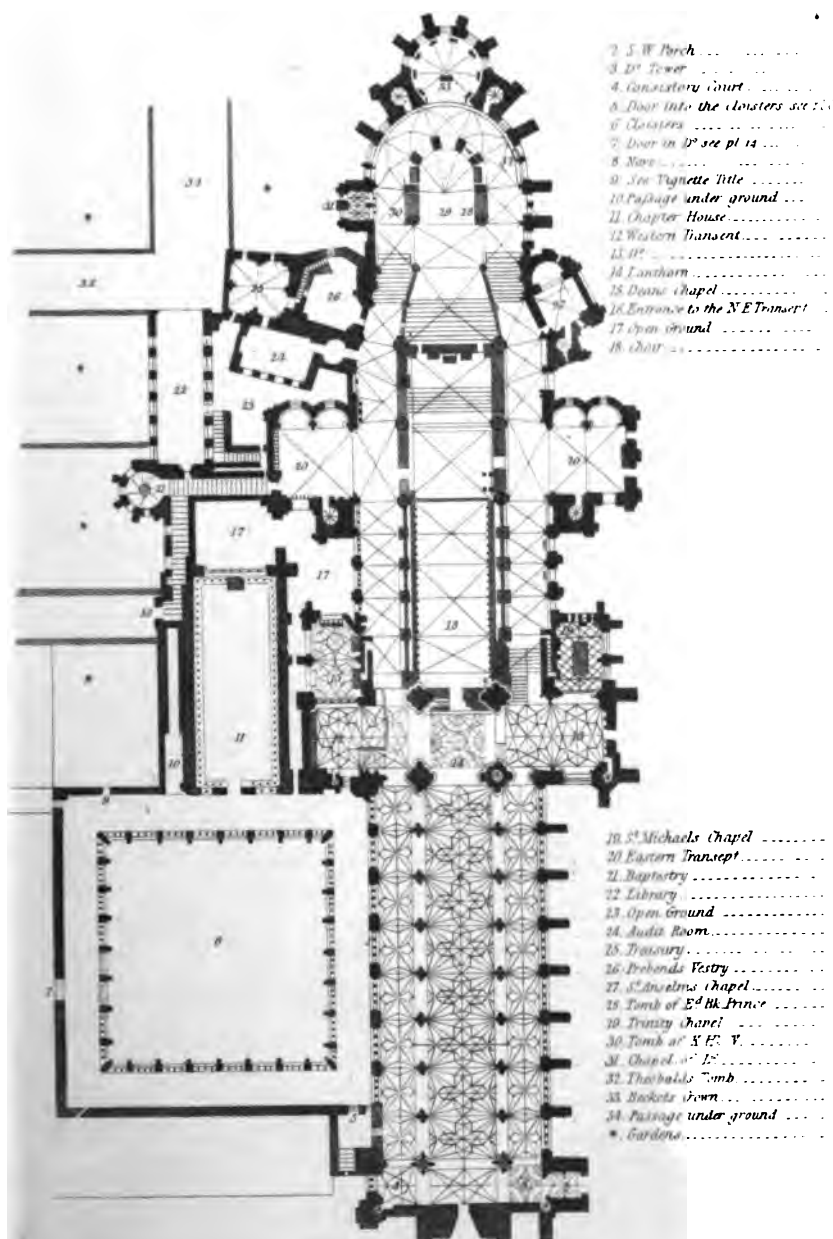




Chapter House, Canterbury Cathedral.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Showing the groining of the Roof.



HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE

OF

Carlisle.

ALL the records of the original foundation of Carlisle, and the introduction of Christianity here, have perished in the lapse of ages. It has been a border habitation from time immemorial. In so fine a situation, at the confluence of three rivers, and the grand estuary of the Frith, it was probably a place of some strength and distinction before the Roman invasion; hence it must have had a name* long prior to the building of Severus's wall, or the vallum of Hadrian. In the Chronicle it is stated that this city was built by a British prince called Luell, or Lu-all, and as the Romans afterwards made it a place of residence, there can be no doubt that it received a knowledge of the Christian faith about the same period, and in a similar manner to that of other cities occupied by those conquerors. Its situation, however, on the departure of the Romans, rendered it the first victim of the northern marauders; and it had been desolated many years when Egfrid, king of Northumberland, caused it to be rebuilt, and fortified with a wall. It appears, from Simeon Dunelm. that he repaired the church, restored divine worship, and placed in it a college of secular priests. When visited by the famous St. Cuthbert, according to Bede, the citizens carried this prelate to see the walls of their city, and a well of admirable workmanship, built by the Romans. Several "writers of Cuth-

* Leland denominates it *Lail*, alias *Luel*, alias *Brust*, cog. *viridi*, sculis conditis *Caerliel*. The Irish, he observes, "call *bale* a town, and so peradventure did the old Scottes; thus might be said that *Lugubalia* soundeth Luel's town." The Romans called it *Lagovallium* or *Luguballum*, from its situation on Severus' wall; the Saxons and Bede *Luel*; Nennius *Caer Luaid*. Dr. Burn derives it from the British *Lla-gyda-gwal*, i. e. an army by the wall, from which he supposes both the Roman and Saxon names were derived. But whatever may be thought of this name, its etymon is certainly wrong, as it assumes the incredible and almost impossible fact, that the Britons denominated the city from the Roman works, and that the Romans afterwards adopted the British name, instead of using one of their own. Others derive it from the Celtic *Lagus*, or *Lucus*, a tower; and hence *Lagovallum*, a tower on the vallum or wall. To the Saxon *Luel* was added the British *Caer*, city, and hence *Caer Luell*, Carleolum, and Car-lisle. Dr. Gale derives it from *lle* an army, and *gwel* the wall, as *Lugdunum* from *lles* and *dun* a hill. Camden admits that this city "flourished in the time of the Romans, from the several evidences of antiquity dug up in it, from the frequent mention made of it by the writers of those times, and that even after the ravages of the Picts and Scots it retained something of its ancient splendour, and was accounted a city." He derives the termination *vallum* and *vallis* from the Roman *vallum* or wall.

bert's life tell us of that holy man's founding here, in 686, a convent of monks, a school, and an abbey of nuns;" yet from Bede's * life of this prelate, it seems as if the "monastery here, to which queen Emenburga retired, was in being long before Cuthbert's coming to Carlisle." But the prosperity, civil and religious of Caer-luel, was of short duration; as the merciless Danes murdered the citizens, and left the city an entire ruin, in which state it remained near 200 years, till the Norman invasion, without an inhabitant, except some few Irish, who lodged themselves among the ruins. The very foundations of the city were so buried in the earth, that large oaks grew upon them. "This is not only attested by our historians (observes Todd), but also demonstrated by the discovery of large unhewn oak trees, 10 or 12 feet below ground. Such round timber could be no other but some of the old monumental oaks that stood upon the walls, as marks and witnesses of their utter ruin and destruction." To Henry I. the merit of re-edifying Carlisle † has generally been attributed; but its importance did not escape the artful William, who particularly ordered it to be subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of Durham. In 1082 the bishop of Durham considered it as a part of his diocese ‡, when Walter, a Norman priest, and follower of William, assisted, it is alleged, by some Flemish settlers, had commenced the restoration of the ecclesiastical buildings, and dedicated the renovated monastery to the Virgin Mary. The laudable exertions of Walter were amply rewarded; he became prior of the religious establishment, was made governor of the city, which William Rufus caused to be fortified and otherwise repaired. Hen. Huntington explicitly states, that this king, in the third year of his reign, re-edified the city of Caerluel, and placed in it inhabitants, chiefly husbandmen, from the south of England (*ex australibus Angl. partibus illuc habitatores trans-*

* The same venerable writer, according to the Todd MSS. states, "that Northumberland, and the Picts, Scots, and Britons in the northern parts, were in perfect peace, one with another, in 731; and that there was such respect and reverence given to religion, that persons of the best quality desired to be admitted to the offices of the church. Not long after this the Britons, or Cumbees, who had been scattered in these parts ever since the recess of the Roman legions, began to unite themselves under a government of their own, calling their province, or kingdom, *Cumberland*, or the land of the Cumbri."

† Leland in his Itinerary observes, "the holy site of the towne is sore changed. For whereas the stretes were, and great edifices, now be vacant and garden plottes. The cite of Caer-luel standeth in the forest of Ynglewood. The cite ys yn compase scant a myle, and ys walled with a right fayre and stronge wal, *ex lapide quadrato subrafo*. In diggynge to make new buildyngs yn the towne, often times hath bene, and now alate fownd diverse foundations of the old cite, as pavimentos of stretes, old arches of dores, coynes, stones squared, payntted pottes, momey hid yn pottes, so hold and moulded, that when yt was strongly touched yt went almost to moulder.—In the feldes about Caerluel yn plewhyng hath be fownd diverse cornelines, and other stonys wel entayled for seals, and yn other places of Cumberland yn plewhyng hath be fownde bricke conteynyng the prints of antique workes."

‡ By some careless historians it has been considered as an appendage to the see of Lindisfarne, from the days of Cuthbert till 1150, almost three centuries after that see had ceased to exist, as it merged into that of Chester-le-street, and Durham, in the latter end of the eleventh century.

missit). But it was not till 1133, about 32 years after the foundation of the priory, that it attained its ecclesiastical pre-eminence, when Henry I. raised it to episcopal dignity, made it the see of a bishop, and appointed prior Ethelwald, or Adeluph, the first bishop. How much of the building was the work of Walter it is now impossible to determine: but many writers affirm, with much probability, that the works were unfinished at the time of his death, that Henry I. took it under his protection, endowed and placed in it regular canons of the order of St. Augustin in 1101, making his confessor and chaplain Athelwald, or Ethelwald, its first prior, who was afterwards its first bishop. Denton gives the following account of the religious foundations in Carlisle:

“ When the city was replenished with inhabitants, to maintain better policy and to inform the people, instead of a nunnery which was there, and which William Rufus translated to Ainstaplighe (or rather in recompense for the lands belonging to it, founded and endowed another there), Henry I. founded a college of secular priests, in the second year of his reign, and made Athelwald, his confessor or chaplain (prior of St. Botolph's), first prior of Carlisle, dedicating the church to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, and endowed them with the tithes of the churches then founded in the forest of Englewood; but being hindered by the tumults and troubles of his time, he could not perfect all things before the 33d year of his reign, and then stricken with grief for the loss of his children, that were drowned coming from Normandy, by the counsel of prior Athelwald, and to appease God for his sins, as he thought, he erected a bishop's see at Carlisle, and made the said Athelwald first bishop thereof, whom Thurston, archbishop of York, consecrated in 1133. In his stead Walter, another chaplain of the king, was made second prior of that house; a little before his election he had taken, by the king's license, a religious habit of a regular canon there; the bishop, on his consecration, having banished the secular priests and established an order of regular canons.” Prior Walter gave to the church of Carlisle, for ever, several lands and the rectories of St. Cuthbert in Carlisle and Stayn wings, and his grants were confirmed by the king * and bishop Athelwald. “ The rectory of St. Cuthbert in Carlisle was founded by the former inhabitants, before the Danes overthrew the city, and by them dedicated to the honour of St. Cuthbert of Duresm, who in ancient times was lord of the same for 15 miles about Carlisle. At the first foundation of the church every citizen offered a piece of money, which was a coin of *brass* then current, which they buried under the foundation of the church steeple, as was found to be true at the late re-edifying of St. Cuthbert's steeple, A. D. **** (writ-

* The honour of knighthood was here conferred on Henry II. when a youth of 16, by his uncle David king of Scotland, which was performed before the high altar on Whitsunday, 1149.

ten about 1600) for when they took up the foundation of the old steeple they found well near a bushel of that money." On these facts Mr. Hutchinson observes, that when the foundations (about 1776) were making for the present church of St. Cuthbert, the workmen, on sinking beneath the foundation of the old church, "discovered the remains of a still more ancient erection, and took up several pieces of broken sculpture, among which was the figure of a nun with her veil or hood, well cut and in good preservation, so that it should seem the old nunnery stood there. It seems that Walter's foundation was entirely a new one, and not a revival of St. Cuthbert's institution; for in Tanner we find 'here was a house of Gray or Franciscan friars before A. D. 1390, and also a house of Black friars founded here, 53 Henry III.' " The same historian makes the supposititious assumption, that the coins mentioned by Denton, "were most probably concealed treasure, intended to be secured against the Danes," and not offerings to St. Cuthbert. Burn and Gough, in his additions to Camden, call them *silver* coins; but as Denton lived above a century before either of these antiquaries, his statement of a fact is most worthy of attention. It is indeed unquestionable, that there were more than one religious edifice in Carlisle before the Danish desolations; and there cannot be a doubt that both the cathedral church, and that of St. Cuthbert, existed during the reign of the Saxons. Dr. Heylin, with much probability, considered Carlisle as having been originally subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Candida Casa*, or Whitherne in Scotland, and that it was afterwards given to Cuthbert and the see of Lindisfarne. The circumstance also of its being exposed to the frequent ravages of war, likewise sanctions the opinion of its having several religious establishments; as fatal experience has sufficiently demonstrated, that luxury, ease, and affluence, are less favourable to the developement of religious sentiment than poverty, suffering, and impelled activity. As to its having gray or black friars in the 14th century, this cannot be adduced to prove, as Hutchinson alleges, that Walter's foundation was entirely original. On the contrary, the traditional record is, that Walter only repaired some dilapidated religious structure; and the few massy pillars which still remain in the nave, 17½ feet in circumference, and only 14 high, are physical evidence of being the work of those English philosophers, or their immediate successors, who instructed Charlemagne, and civilized the French. But whatever may have been the origin of the present cathedral, it is admitted that the priory originally possessed very considerable property*, and as it was so soon raised to episcopal dignity,

* "The priory," observes Denton, "wanted not for reliques of saints, for Waldeive the son of Gospatrick, earl of Dunbar, brought from Jerusalem and Constantinople a bone of St. Paul, and another of St. John Baptist, two stones of Christ's sepulchre, and part of the holy

(d)

it must be inferred that it was derived from Saxon devotion. The property* indeed of the prior and bishop was so involved, that Gualo, the pope's legate, was called upon to arbitrate between them †. This community of interest is, perhaps, no less singular than the fact remarked by Tanner, and others, that "Carlisle is the only episcopal chapter in England of the order of St. Augustin." The Augustins, however, were no less turbulent and ambitious than the Benedictines; but it is remarkable, that their conduct evinces much less devotion to the pope. After the death of Bernard, the second bishop, in 1186, the see continued vacant ‡ 32 years; during which time the monks publicly announced their contempt of the papal authority and the censure of the legate, and in defiance of all the interdicts and sentences denounced to the contrary, they persisted in performing divine service and all the holy offices of the sacraments. Unhappily they did not stop here; they swore fealty to the king of the Scots, an avowed enemy to the crown of England, and one in open opposition to the authority of the Roman see; they elected an interdicted and excommunicated clerk for their bishop, contrary to the will of their lawful sovereign, and that of the papal legate, and seizing the revenues of the bishopric, applied them according to their own will. In consequence of this treason Henry III. applied to pope Honorius III. to remove those canons, and put prebendaries in their place; with this he complied; the canons

cross, which he gave to the priory, together with a mansion near St. Cuthbert's church, where, at that time, stood an ancient building, called Arthur's chamber, taken to be part of the mansion house of king Arthur, the son of Uter Pendragon, of memorable note for his worthiness in the time of ancient kings. Waldeive also gave other ancient buildings, called Lyons Yards, often remembered in the history of Arthur, written by a monk; the ruins whereof are still to be seen, as it is thought, at Ravenglass, distant from Carlisle, according to that author, 50 miles, placed near the sea, and not without reason thought, therefore, to be the same."

* At the dissolution, which took place in 1540, prior Salkeld having surrendered it in 1538, the whole priory was estimated, according to Dugdale, at 418*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and by Speed at 481*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* In 1548 the new establishment was instituted, consisting of a dean, an archdeacon, four canons or prebendaries, eight minor canons, a sub-deacon, six lay-clerks or singing-men, a master of grammar, six choristers, a master of the choristers, six almsmen, one verger, two sextons, &c. the king granting it the site of the priory and its principal revenues. At this protestant institution the cathedral was denominated "The church of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

† According to Denton, Waldeive gave the castle of Lynstock to the church of Carlisle, but the same writer also states, that Henry I. gave it to the prior. This contradiction may be obviated by the circumstance that the bishop's and prior's "lands were holden *pro indiviso*, as in common," till Gualo, during the reign of king John, assigned the castle of Lynstock to the bishop. Another division of their property took place by legate Bardolph, in the time of Henry III. Lynstock continued a long time to be the chief country mansion of the bishops, and Halton entertained here in 1203, Romanus archbishop of York, with his retinue amounting to upwards of 300 persons, for a considerable time, while on his visitation.

‡ The see was not only beset with turbulent monks and domestic pillage, but was also so poor, that "no able and loyal man would accept of the bishoprick." When Henry II. was at Carlisle he offered it to "Paulinus de Leedes, and (as such was even an early instance in the ecclesiastical affairs) proposed to augment the income with 300 marks out of the churches of Bannrough and Scarbrough, with the chapel of Tickhill, and two manors adjacent to Carlisle; yet Paulinus refused it. In 1203 the pope granted its revenues to the expelled archbishop of Regula, and king John gave them to support the archbishop of Scavonia. Such applications of the episcopal revenues tend to extenuate the offences of the monks in their seizure of them. In 1188 the king, holding the temporalities, was charged for oil and carriage from London to Carlisle, at Easter, 14*l.*; for work at the great altar 97*l.* 9*s.* and in the dormitory of the canons 22*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

were expelled, and Hugh, abbot of Belieu, consecrated bishop; but neither religion nor patriotism gained much by the change. Infidelity and disloyalty were fomented by the lawless rapacity of the Roman pontiff, and the weakness of the sovereign. The sordid despotism of the pope was too shocking even to the most ignorant, and the extravagance of his domination had surpassed the march of superstition, and left the uninformed clergy and laity in doubt of every thing except that of indulging their natural propensities. If bishop Hugh was deficient in the energy of moral rectitude and the heroism of true religion, his successor, Walter, was little more fortunate in being so ignorant as to obtain the contemptuous appellation of *malclerk*. Nevertheless, the vicissitudes of his life, the political character which he attained in the history of the country, and the offices with which he was entrusted, sufficiently prove, that however illiterate he might be, he was by no means wanting in address and cunning. But it is not such characters that are destined to extend the interests of religion, or advance civilization. His immediate successors discovered more zeal in watching the interests, or rather in favouring the usurpation of their class; but we have few records of their services either to religion or their cathedral church, till its reputed conflagration in 1292. At this period an accidental fire (and there has been fewer of those fires* than in almost any other city of England) consumed the church and nearly half the town, amounting to 1300 houses. During the reign of Henry II. the Scots had ravaged Carlisle and burnt its public records, but the church remained, as it was finished by Henry Murdac, abbot of Fontanis, and afterwards archbishop of York, without experiencing any of those dreadful excesses which marked the career of hostile bands in other parts of the kingdom.

It is probable that the injury which the cathedral sustained by the fire alluded to, was very inconsiderable, as we do not find any extensive works mentioned till the reign of Edward III. when the edifice was thoroughly repaired by indulgential contributions †, or the sale of licences to withhold superstitious services and commit sin. The repairs of the cathedral and ecclesiastical buildings then commenced, during the prelacy of the active, vigilant, and decided John Kirby ‡, who was

* Some writers, by the mistake of a figure, have stated that a fire occurred at Carlisle in 1392, and others, not observing that all the other circumstances were the same as that in 1292, have been perplexed, and unable to solve the difficulty, which existed only in the mistake of the date, and a consequent mis-statement of the reign in which this event happened.

† "When the choir was rebuilt in the reign of Edward III. indulgences were issued, the common and most effectual claim of assistance, which were of 40 days penance [rather remission of penance] to such laity as should by money, materials, or labour, contribute to this pious work; the bishop's register abounds with letters patent and orders for the purpose." Hutchinson.

‡ It is extremely probable that the original designs and improvements of the eastern portion of the cathedral were given by Rob. Eggesfield, an eminent native of Carlisle, the founder of

prior and bishop of Carlisle about 25 years. This great man, whose character has been most miserably depicted by his dronish biographers, seems to have been admirably adapted to the age in which he lived, and the heroic prince whom he served ; he was the hope of the good and the terror of the depraved. In 1337, according to his register, he was attacked by assassins in Penrith, several of his retinue were wounded, and he would have been murdered had he not, with equal fortitude and presence of mind, bravely defended himself. In October, this year, his palace of Rose castle was burnt by the Scots, the adjacent country swept of its cattle and flocks, the crops destroyed, and the lands laid waste. He was at variance with his clergy, we are told ; it is true, he checked their ambition, repressed their licentiousness, and taught them their duty. He lived in troublous times ; but he had energy to meet and virtue to overcome all his difficulties. While the conquering Edward was driving the French like chaff before the wind, those perfidious enemies were suborning treason, and raising secret enemies in Scotland, to harass the English borderers. In consequence of their marauding expeditions our upright prelate was often reduced to great pecuniary embarrassment, and the pope* excommunicated and suspended him for the non-payment of his tithes in Lincolnshire. In 1343 he again appears in the history of his country, as a commissioner with the bishop of Durham, and others, to arrange terms of peace and commerce with the Scots. The result of these negotiations, however, was not very propitious, as the Scots in 1345, under sir Wm. Douglas, attacked and plundered Carlisle, desolating the country wherever they appeared, till our heroic prelate assembled his trusty followers, and in conjunction with sir Robert Ogle and a handful of the king's troops, attacked and totally overthrew the enemy, driving them a considerable distance into the mountainous fastnesses of their own country. In this dreadful conflict the bishop was unhorsed, and in imminent danger of being made prisoner ; but he fought with uncommon bravery, recovered his horse, returned to the charge, and led on his men with so much valour and skill, that the enemy, unable any longer to resist him, fled with precipitation. The tranquillity and security conquered on this memorable occasion,

Queen's college, Oxon. in 1340, and confessor to queen Philippa. A fanciful derivation of this great man's name from *aiguille* a needle, and *fil* a thread, has been adduced to explain a singular custom. It is a commemorative mark of respect for each member of queen's college to receive from the bursar, on new-year's day, a needle and a thread, with the advice, "Take this and be thrifty." Hollingshead states, that when the prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. who was educated at this college, went to court in order to remove some imputations of disaffection, he wore a gown of blue satin full of oil holes, and at every hole a needle hanging by a silk thread. This, it has been conjectured, was the original academic dress, as such conceits were extremely common.

* Pope John XXII. was a Spaniard, which perhaps contributed to the remark of Platina, that he "fecit molte cose, che dimostravano la sua stolidità & leggerezza." See "Il Platina delle Vite et Fatti di tutti Sommi Pontifici Romani," Venice 1643; the real author was Bartholemy Sacchi, who often characterises the popes with great fidelity and truth.

enabled our prelate to direct his attention to objects more immediately the duty of a divine, and he commenced the re-edification of his cathedral, in the style and splendour which we now see it. Bishop Kirby accompanied the princess Joan to her consort Alphonso, king of Castile, in 1348; and about 1350 the chancel and east end of his cathedral was completed. To his successor, bishop Welton, indeed, the merit of re-modelling the choir has been assigned, and he no doubt contributed materially towards its execution; so did bishop Appleby; but in most cases the greatest merit rests with the original proposer. Of the precise extent, however, of these prelates' improvements there exists no definite record. The cathedral contained many chapels and chantries, only a few of which are now known. A singular circumstance of this nature is recorded by our historians: in 1356 the chapel of St. Alban was, on inquiry, found not to have been consecrated, in consequence of which bishop Welton prohibited the divine offices and sepulture in it. To a reasoning being, and more especially in an architectural divine, it would appear more judicious to have consecrated rather than interdicted this chapel. After the dissolution Edw. VI. granted the property with which it had been endowed to T. Dalston and W. Denton; he also transferred that in the chantry of the holy cross, the founder of which is unknown. The chapel of St. Catherine church, was founded by John de Capella, a citizen of Carlisle. In 1366 the endowments of this chapel were withheld, when bishop Appleby ordered their payment, under pain of excommunication with bell, book, and candle. Bishop Whelpdale founded a chantry, and endowed it with 200*l.* for holy offices for the souls of sir Thomas Skelton, knt. and Mr. John Dalston. The door, with its ornaments, on the south side of the choir, near the bishop's throne, is the work of prior Haythwaite; the opposite door is attributed to the meek prior Senhouse*, in consequence of the inscription on it, "*vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina, mei,*" which was his common adage. The same prior also repaired the square tower of the priory, and on the beams of the middle room are inscribed many sentences with his familiar moral maxim, "*loath to offend.*" The tabernacle work in the choir was executed at the expense of bishop Strickland, who also built the belfry,

* This well-meaning prior's tomb is at the west end of the church, a large plain altar tomb, called the blue stone, on which the tenants of the dean and chapter, by certain tenure, were obliged, says Pennant, to pay their rents. It was prior Senhouse who caused the paintings of the legendary histories of Saints Anthony, Cuthbert, and Augustin, to be placed in the aisles of the choir. Above every picture is a distich relative to the subject. Each legend commences thus:

"Of Anton story who lyste to here
In Egypt was he born't as doyth aper.
"Her Cuthbert was forbid layks and plays
As 8 Bede i' hys story says.
"Her fader and modr of sanct Austyne
Fyrst put hym her to terne doctrine."

furnished it with four bells, and repaired the chancel*. Prior Gondibour repaired and enlarged several parts of the abbey, as appears by the initials of his name in different places. Prior Slee built the west gate-house, which bears his name, with the usual request to pray for his soul, in 1528. The beauty of this building is confined to the choir and its aisles, which are in a fine taste, and devoid of superfluous ornaments. Its antique grandeur is in the fragment of the nave, which with the south end of the transept, and the basement story of the pillars that support the tower, have the true character of Saxon everlastingness. The pillars of the choir are clustered, and in excellent proportion; the arches are pointed, the inner mouldings of the capitals have figures and flowers in open work of light carving, and the inside of the arches are pleasingly ornamented. "Two galleries run above the aisles, but with windows in the upper only; that in the east end has a magnificent simplicity." The great east window, which is 48 feet by 30, is a beautiful piece of tracery. The transept is heavy, and the great north window having failed about 60 years ago, one of plain tracery was substituted. Such was our cathedral when the worse than vandal bands, in 1644, despoiled it of "its fair proportion," by destroying the west front and 92 feet of the nave, to erect guard-houses and batteries! Of all the infernal acts of delirious despotism, committed by those infuriate fanatics, this seems to have been the most laborious and expensive. The very idea, indeed, of taking down such a massy structure to make a guard-house, is worthy of the age and people. What was the general effect of the building we can now only conjecture. The contiguity of Carlisle to Scotland rendered it difficult to achieve any very extensive work before the Union. The country, incessantly harassed by marauders, could not support any liberal establishment for the purpose of erecting public buildings of great magnificence, consequently those that remain are calculated for strength rather than exhibiting traits of beauty, for use more than ornament. The present age, however, is making ample atonement for the deficiency of the past, and since 1808 near 100,000*l.* have been expended on building courts of justice and bridges over the river Eden, close to the city.

The choir of the cathedral continued in its pristine state till 1765, the east window was filled with painted glass, the roof† was framed with wood, not unlike Westminster-hall; and the divisions between pillar and pillar were made by tapestry. The rest of the spaces

* "Fecit," says Leland, Collect. "magnum campanile a medietate ad summum una cum 4 magnis campanis in eodem, et stalla perpulchra in choro, et co-operturam cancellis ejusdem."

† The arms and devices of several contributors and patrons were delineated on the inner side of the roof which was removed. The old wood lining remains in the transept, and shows what were the former figures and ornaments of the choir. The whole expense of those improvements amounted to 1300*l.* of which bishop Lyttleton contributed 100*l.* dean Bolton 50*l.* the dowager countess Gower 50*l.* and the dean and chapter the remainder.

were occupied by stalls. "Here," observes Willis, "the decanal stall is on the left side of the choir entrance, that on the right hand belonging to the bishop, who has two seats here, as being antiently looked upon as principal or abbot of the church, so sat on the right hand of the prior when he pleased." About the same period the appearance of the choir was materially altered, and the cieling stuccoed to resemble groined vaulting. Bishop Lyttleton, who then filled the see, was a most successful student, and a great admirer of ancient architecture; he suggested to the dean and chapter the necessity of repairing the choir, and contributed liberally to defray the expense. It is matter of regret that a better taste had not been adopted in the wood work, by making the new assimilate more to the antique style of the old, which is beautiful in the extreme. An operative artist (Mr. Thos. Carlyle), of singular abilities, was employed, who finished the bishop's throne (see pl. 4), pulpit, altar-piece *, screens, and pews, nearly all with his own hands; but with a design furnished by the bishop's nephew (Thos. Pitt, lord Camelford), from which he could not safely depart, the suggestions of his own fertile imagination were fettered; yet, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, his work remains a rare instance of ingenuity and expertness in a provincial workman †. The present worthy dean and chapter have done every thing in their power to add to the appearance and elegance of this venerable pile; the rev. R. Markham, one of our prebendaries, and archdeacon of York, a man of refined taste, suggested many improvements, and a beautiful Gothic organ was built by Avery, and opened on Easter-day, 1806. The design for this instrument was made by Mr. Robert Carlyle, son of the above-mentioned artist, who likewise furnished the drawings which constitute this graphic illustra-

* This ingenious man, with abilities which would have adorned a higher station, has given many specimens in cabinet work, and sculptures, indicative of original genius, and is still living at Carlisle, in his 83d year, a venerable artist, whose abilities reflect honour on the city of which his family have been residents above two centuries. It is impossible to think of this artist's family without recollecting Plautus *sape summa ingenia in occultis latent*, or the elegiac reflection of our own classic bard, "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,—And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

† In taking down the old hangings and ornaments of the high altar to make the late repairs, at the north corner was discovered a brass plate finely engraved, which had been put up to the memory of bishop Henry Robinson; the prelate is represented in his pontificals, kneeling before a quadrangular building, supposed to be Queen's college, Oxon, and his cathedral: on the former is inscribed, "Invenit destructum, reliquit extractum et instructum;" on the other, "Intraivit per ostium, permansit fidelis, recessit beatus;" beneath are shepherd's dogs, implements of husbandry, and emblems of peace, a wolf playing with a lamb, &c. There is this remarkable entry in the parish register of Dalston, that this worthy bishop, who was born in Carlisle in 1556, and was "a most careful provost of Queen's college, Oxon," died at Rose-castle, the 19th of June, 1616, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and was buried in this cathedral the same evening, about eleven o'clock. The same register contains an account of another rapid interment. "Feb. 15, 1697, Reverend. in Christo, Johannes Mey, divina providentia Episcopus Carlisleensis, hora octava matutina decimi quinti diei Februarii mortem oppetit; et hora octava vespertina ejusdem die Carlisleensis in ecclesia sepultus fuit; cujus justa celebrantur die sequente Dalstoni." The allegation of the plague cannot account for both these sudden interments, which almost equal if not surpass those of Spain.

tion of our cathedral. In 1813 the nave of the church, heretofore a blank space, but used for parochial purposes, was fitted up with neatness and elegance, separated from the internal part of the cathedral, and made a more commodious place of worship for the parish of St. Mary.

Having collected the imperfect records of the foundation, and various alterations of our church and its erection to an episcopal see, its few monuments, their position and origin will be found in the accompanying ground-plan.

Some of the more active prelates during the first centuries after the establishment of the bishopric, have already been mentioned. John Ross, who was imposed on this see by the arbitrary authority of the pope, directly contrary to the election of the chapter and the will of the sovereign, evinced himself truly worthy of his patron; and although he was wholly incapable of discharging any political duties, as was the custom for prelates in his age, yet few men are more remarkable, as he acquired permanent notoriety for his insatiable avarice and diabolical malignity. His incessant lawsuits, malevolence, revengeful application of excommunications, &c. have rendered it proverbial that this true papal bishop "would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven." He died at the palace of Rose Castle*, in 1332. Of a very different character was Thomas Merks, whose heroic fidelity to the ill-fated Richard II. has been worthily portrayed by our national bard†. There is something in disinterested integrity and inflexible rectitude, which awes even to forbearance the most depraved, and rivets the affections of the good in all ages and nations. Bishop Merks was almost the only advocate in parliament for the deposed monarch; and such was the independent, fearless, and upright spirit which ani-

* The name of this palace has been differently interpreted, some ascribing it to this worthless prelate, others, with equal improbability, to *roux*, from the red-coloured stone with which it is built. It is of no very great antiquity, and was probably conveyed to the ecclesiastical chiefs of Carlisle "per quoddam cornu eburneum," or the horn preserved in the cathedral as the symbol or instrument of grants to the priory. The most probable etymon of this name is the British *Rhos*, a valley, which is sufficiently descriptive. Edward I. resided here some time, during his expedition against the Scots; and his writs for calling a parliament at Lincoln were dated *apud le Rose*. Many of our expressions and phrases having the word *rose*, doubtless originated from this British term, and were not derived from the French, as vulgarly supposed. The palace being a favourite residence, was augmented and improved by bishops Strickland, Bell, Kyte, &c. but was destroyed by Oliver Cromwell; and since the reformation almost every successive prelate has been emulous to repair and improve it; and the names of Stern, Rainbow, Smith, Lyttleton, Law, &c. are recorded as having added to or beautified this delightful retreat.

† Shakespeare makes this prelate utter a sentiment which should never be forgotten: "The means that Heaven yields must be embrac'd—And not neglected." It is for the divines and friends of the established church, ere it be too late, to observe this safe maxim, when a junta of sceptical and superficial politicians have conspired to sap her foundations; when the legislature is called upon by this sordid band to grant political power and a monopoly of privileges to a particular and intellectually insignificant class, merely because it is composed of the most ignorant, and consequently the most vicious of his majesty's subjects, because they believe what not one legislator believes, and what no reasoning being could for a moment think of, and because they bear a satanic hatred and murderous antipathy to every human being, "black, brown, or fair," who does not worship images, and believe in all the silly superstitions, and incredible fooleries which constitute the religion of their sect. The same party also, who demand

mated him, that in the first session under Henry IV. he pronounced the severest condemnations on the measures and the men, by which the revolution was effected, and even told the usurping prince such pointed truths, that he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed for treason, but liberated. His predictions of national misery, however, were literally fulfilled in the civil wars which followed; and the events furnish another example of the truism, that if a government or a legislature knowingly commit one act of injustice, no matter from what motive, like that of telling a deliberate falsehood, it will require ten thousand others to extenuate it. The successor of this noble champion of the inviolability of abstract right, was William Strickland, whose election in 1363 was violently annulled by the pope: Henry IV. now meanly petitioned the bishop of Rome in his favour, and he was accordingly appointed to our see in 1400. Of his political sentiments there can be no question, and although he was certainly a benefactor to his church, yet we find him acting in "a commission of blood," to arrest, imprison, and execute all persons who did not bow down to the powers that be, or who evinced the least sympathy or compassion either for the family or friends of the murdered king. Over the political conduct of bishop Strickland, religious charity would gladly draw the veil, were it not the bounden duty of the historian to develope and record the errors as well as the virtues of public characters, to stigmatise crimes and laud genuine merits *. From the consecrated, ambitious,

to be exempted, on their entry into political power, from taking oaths, not to endeavour to overthrow the established church, are equally hostile to the Bible as to protestants, and the wit and humour which have been good-naturedly directed to the bibliomania of literary antiquaries, has been malignantly levelled against those who would make the Scriptures familiar to the poor. This has been rudely attempted in an illiterate and obscure periodical publication, entitled "The (papal) Orthodox Magazine." Yet pitifully silly as this work is, every friend to true religion will rejoice in its existence, as whenever superstition and bigotry seek to arm themselves with argument and not authority, they inevitably take from Lychas the poisoned shirt of the Lernean hydra. The inadequacy likewise of the Scriptures and divine revelation is not only maintained, but their imperfectness is eagerly proved in the recital of new and more extraordinary miracles than are to be found in the inspired volume. When our Saviour and his Apostles had recourse to supernatural means, it was always either to establish divine truth and convert the unbelieving, or to serve the cause of humanity; and we are assured that enough was done by them to answer fully these objects. Nevertheless the trade in miracles is still most zealously advocated by Mr. John Milner, the vicar apostolic of the midland district, and bishop of Castabala. This would-be Thaumaturgus, in a letter dated Wolverhampton, August 1815, just after his return from Rome, addressed to the Editor of the above publication, speaks of the legendary farrago called "Butler's Lives of the Saints," as an "Encyclopædia of theological knowledge," and laments that it contains no lives of saints deified since the pontificate of Benedict XIV. (1758), mentioning "the venerable Lignori, a late bishop of Apulia, the author of many pious treatises; at whose intercession, as has been *incontestably and publicly demonstrated within these few months*, a woman whose BREAST HAD BEEN CUT OFF for a cancer, and BURIED in the church-yard, had had it **SUDDENLY RESTORED TO HER**, so that her infant drew milk from it in the same manner as from the other breast which had never been diseased!!!"

* The sentiments of the pious and enlightened Wickliff were now generally disseminated, and most of the virtuous and religious part of both clergy and laity were his followers. On the other hand the ignorant bigots, &c. the infidels (who were then also numerous), persecuted the unfortunate Wickliffites with "murderous hate." In 1401, the king, knowing the frail tenure by which he held his crown, gratified the papists by allowing them to burn the rev. William Sautre as a Wickliffite. This is the first recorded religious murder of the sanguinary papists in this country since the massacre of the Saxon bishops. "In political history," says d'Israeli, in

and ruthless politician we turn with pleasure to his successor, the meek, pious, and beneficent Roger Whelpdale, a native of Cumberland; much more memorable as a divine for his admirable deeds of charity and piety, than as a statesman for his political address. But for the existence of such characters it might be rendered questionable whether religion and piety were episcopal duties in those ages. His successor was thrust into the see by the pope; but bishop Lumley was above a year elected before he received the pontiff's consent. Bishop Close was not only great as a negotiator but architect. His conduct in arranging the terms of peace with the Scot's king, and as a commissioner in investigating the wardens of the Marches, recommended him to the sovereign, and his episcopal character is a high eulogy on the king's judgment. Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland, next filled the see. The most remarkable trait in his successor's character was that of having first received the temporalities in payment of a royal debt, and afterwards being elected and consecrated bishop. The beneficent Edward Storey was consecrated here and translated to Chichester. But we now approach the dawn of the general reformation. John Kyte, a man of more talents and learning than religion and virtue, a native of London, who was Henry VII.'s ambassador to Spain, archbishop of Armagh in 1513, bishop of Carlisle in 1521, resigned the see of Armagh for that of Thebes in Greece. He was patronized and consulted by cardinal Wolsey, to whom he had virtue enough to remain faithful, administering comfort to this fallen prelate in his last days. With the king's scruples respecting his marriage he perfectly concurred, and indeed to all his majesty's opinions he evinced the most cordial respect, while his patron and friend, Wolsey, retained any power. He was also one of the four bishops who addressed pope Clement VII. on the subject of

his Inquiry into the literary and political Character of James I. "we usually find that the heads of a party are much wiser than the party themselves, so that whatever they intend to acquire, their first demands are small; but the honest souls who are only stirred by their own innocent zeal, are sure to complain that their business is done negligently. Should the party at first succeed, then the bolder spirit which they have disguised or suppressed through policy is left to itself; it starts unbridled and at full gallop. All this occurred in the case of the puritans with James I." And the same thing is occurring in the present day; the heads of a party obtained the repeal of a law to defend the doctrine of the trinity from scurrilous wit, ignorant vanity, and impious irreligion; the heads of a party are also aiming at a total change in the inalienable rights of property; are seeking to make justice and injustice, right and wrong, the mere creatures of political enactments and institutions, directing their revolutionary schemes first to vitilicious instead of hereditary property; the heads of a party also are meditating a still more general and complete reversal, with "universal philanthropy." They have obtained a law to prohibit parents from profiting by their children's labour, in order that youth under thirteen years of age may be allowed to attend schools where such words as "God," "Saviour," or "religion," are never once tolerated, and where what they think proper to call "truth and morality" only are localised. This most wise and great good (for a Christian or even theist must be embarrassed to describe it in known terms), has already been realized some time north of the Tweed, and is now about to be instituted and extended south of it. Such is the grandeur and omnipotence of this plan, that it is to make men more beautiful, and in every sense of the word perfect, and very probably even immortal!

the king's divorce; but he was nevertheless a true papist, and this fact furnishes an answer to one of the calumnies which the papists have heaped on Henry VIII. and his divines. To the reforming principles of the great and good Cranmer he opposed every possible obstruction in conjunction with the archbishop of York. Considering that the union of talents and servility is by no means a very common occurrence in nature, it is impossible to view the life and behaviour of Kyte with either pity or respect. Of a very similar character was his successor, Robert Aldridge, a poet and orator of no ordinary celebrity, whose youth was complimented by Erasmus, for "*blanda eloquentiæ juvenis*." Like Kyte he was servile to the king, a papist in devotion, and a tyrant to his fellow men. He encouraged Henry in his six articles against all the exertions of Cranmer, and in one case only, that of "the bishop's book," did he concur in the immortal labours of that great and true divine. Owen Oglethorp, like his two immediate predecessors, appears to have had no permanent principle, but selfishness. As a papist he betrayed his religion in almost every act of his life, yet he as tenaciously clung to its alleged dispensing power, its intolerance and superstition. He appears to have been a plausible but superficial, weak and unprincipled man. The sanguinary Mary heaped honours and emoluments upon him. By some strange fatality, or that inherent obliquity of intellect which marks the adherents of popery, he was chosen in 1554 one of the disputants against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, in which he fully evinced his great malignity to the principles of the reformation (a sufficient recommendation to Mary and her paramour Pole), his barbarity and intolerance. He was consecrated bishop of Carlisle the following year, and in 1558, during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and in direct contradiction to all his former acts and principles, when all the bishops had refused to crown queen Elizabeth, "he only, the lowest of the tribe, the bitterest against the reformists, and the interests of the protestant church, could be found to place the crown on the head of that greatest of princesses." The conduct of Oglethorp on this occasion is marked by singular baseness or folly. The religious sentiments of the queen were well known, so were his own. At the coronation she would not suffer him to elevate the host for adoration, because she "did not like it;" and had he been actuated by any rational ambition he would have at least feigned conviction of protestant sentiments, and retained his honours by his compliancy. On the contrary, he most foolishly sought to regain the confidence of those he had betrayed, by his violent opposition in parliament to all the protestant laws. In 1559 he declined attending the challenge of Sewell to disputation, for which he was fined 250*l.* and

shortly after deprived of his bishopric, estimated at 268*l*. To incur the censure of so acute a judge of merit as Elizabeth, is alone a satisfactory proof of his turpitude; but his deposition proves that the malign effects of inveterate superstition, had equally divested him of rationality and of virtue. He died soon after of apoplexy or a broken heart.

We now come to prelates of a very different character, to divines and not political intriguers, men of learning and talents, who devoted their attention to the study of the sacred scriptures, the usages of the primitive churches, and the practical as well as theoretical display of Christian morality. John Best, an equally prudent and firm protestant was consecrated in 1560; but such was the fury and malignity of the murderous spirit which animated the popish mob, that he was obliged to have a commission to arm himself and dependents within his bishopric. Thus, when the worthy votaries of Rome, the " worshippers of gods the work of their own hands," could no longer use fire and faggot, they had recourse to the cup and dagger. Bishop Best was created D. D. by Dr. Humphreys, the queen's Oxford professor, at a private convention in London, when he subscribed the Saxon homilies. His successor, Barnes, a man of Christian disposition, was consecrated suffragan bishop of Nottingham, in 1567. Against the virtues and exalted character of our native bishop Robinson, calumny itself has never dared to whisper a murmur. His zeal and beneficence in patronizing learning and supporting literature do him the highest honour, especially as he was born in a country no little remarkable for producing men of genius, self-taught characters*, " who think much, and on deep subjects;" who have attained eminence in almost every department of human knowledge. Perhaps in no other county of Britain have so many of its natives become its prelates as in Cumberland, and it is not prejudice to say, that they were neither the least enlight-

* It is impossible in the short compass of a note to enumerate all the natives of Cumberland, who by the mere energy of their own minds have left works well known to posterity. The celebrated mechanician, George Graham, who so greatly improved our mathematical instruments, was born at *Horsgills* (not Gartrick), in the parish of Kirkcintola, in 1675. His works are printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society. See vols. vi. vii. viii. & ix. abridgement by Dr. Hutton. The rev. William Graham, late rector of Stapleton, who " procured his education from the savings of his manual labour," is another example of the talent of poetry and metaphysics being united perhaps in a higher degree even than in Darwin. According to Hutchinson, Cumberland is also the county of the Addison family. The late rev. Jonathan Boucher, one of the revivers of our Saxon literature, was also a Cumberland man. But there is a living author, philosopher, and artist, who may perhaps be considered as the fairest type of the Cumberland character, we mean Mr. James Sowerby, F. L. S. M. G. S. &c. one of the greatest benefactors to our national sciences which has yet appeared, whether considered as an artist, draughtsman and colourist, or as a scientific botanist, mineralogist and conchologist, his labours shed a lustre on his age and nation. His works on " English Botany, Mineralogy, Conchology, and Fossils," as well as his tracts on crystallography and the nature of colours, are the most correct and complete of their kind, and his general accuracy in most branches of natural history, like his admirable delineations and faithful portraits, have become proverbial. The names of Dr. Brown, Dr. Paley; J. D. Carlyle, J. B.; W. and S. Gilpin, and G. Head, artists; J. Howard, mathematician, &c. might also be mentioned; as well as our present worthy dean Milner, whose writings are familiar to every Christian philosopher, and have often been quoted in this work.

ened nor meritorious of its dignitaries. Milburn and Senhouse were successively native prelates. Their successor, White, was employed by king James to observe the intrigues of the papists. Archbishop Usher being obliged to leave the rebellious Irish, found an asylum here till episcopacy was abolished, when Oliver Cromwell, who was imitated in this particular by Napoleon Buonaparte, feigning respect for great learning, talents, and virtue, assigned him a pension of 400*l.* a year, but never paid it. At the archbishop's death he gave 200*l.* for a public funeral to him. Next to Usher must be ranked our native prelate Nicholson, who first fully investigated our national literary antiquities, in his "Historical Libraries," in like manner as the present bishop has unfolded and elucidated our national botany, particularly cryptogamic plants. It is the glory of protestantism that it unites all the physical and natural sciences to divinity; that it considers all real knowledge as directly contributing to exalt revelation, extend religion, and thereby meliorate mankind. We might indeed challenge all the papal bishops in Europe to produce only one paper equal to any of those by Dr. Goodenough in the Transactions of the Linnean Society, of which he was one of the original founders and vice-president. As "knowledge is power," while that is directed to the support of genuine religion, our national establishment must be as permanent as it is founded in justice and truth.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Length of the nave 43 feet, the remains of 135; of the choir 137; of the transept 194. *Breadth* of the choir and its aisles 71 feet; of the transept 98. *Height* of ceiling 75, of the tower 127 feet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

- Plate 1.* View of the cathedral from the prebendaries' garden, exhibiting the great East Window, the South Side and South Aisle of the choir, partly obscured by the shade of the innumerable trees which grow in abundance on all sides of this fabric.
- Plate 2.* Is the South of the cathedral from the abbey green, in which the great Window of the South Aisle, under which formerly rested sir Thomas Skelton's tomb, the present Vestry, St. Catherine's Chapel, attached to the south-east end of the transept, and the Tower, appear. In the upper story of the transept the remains of Saxon windows may still be traced. Round this part of the precincts a broad gravel walk was formed a few years ago, and the adjoining grounds embellished with shrubberies.
- Plate 3.* A view from the banks of the Caldew, containing the Cathedral, with part of the Western End, now the parish church of St. Mary, the Deanery-house, Chapter-house, and some of the prebendal Houses, with Part of the City Wall, and the woods on the banks of the Caldew, which after watering the meadows adjacent to the city falls into the Eden.
- Plate 4.* Is the Bishop's Throne, in rear of which are the south aisle and vestry.
- Plate 5.* South Side of the Chapter-house, with the windows lately repaired. The interior was recently fitted up in a magnificent style, and formed into three apartments, viz. a kitchen, dining or audit room, and library. The principal apartment contains two exquisite paintings by Paul Veronese, of the Resurrection and the preaching of St. John, each eleven feet high by eight broad. These were presented to the dean and chapter by the earl of Lonsdale.
- Plate 6.* The Choir, exhibiting the East Window, North Aisle, Pulpit, Governor's Pew, and opposite the Bishop's Throne and Pews.
- Plate 7.* North-east View, representing the East End with its Buttress, their Niches and Statues, the North Side of the Choir and Aisle, North end of the Transept, and the embattled Tower.
- Plate 8.* Interior View from the north aisle, shewing the style of architecture in the eastern part of the building, dissected of the screens, stalls, &c. It was taken at this point to exhibit the excellent carving of the consols, all of which, as well as the capitals, are executed with much elegance.

CARLISLE.

PRIORS.

Athelwald	Adam de Warthwic	William de Dalton 1381
Walter	William de Hautwyssel	Robert de Edenshall 1387
John	Robert de Helperton 1308	Thomas de Heton
Bartholomew	S. de Hautwyssel 1325	Thomas Elye
Ralph	Wm. de Hastworth 1325	Thomas Barnaby 1433
Robert de Morvill	John de Kirby	Thomas de Hatthwaite
Adam de Helton	Galfrid Prior	Thomas Gondibour 1484
Allan	John de Horncastle 1352	Simon Senhouse 1507
John de Halton	Richard de Ridale	Christopher Slee 1532
John de Kendal	John de Penrith	Lancelot Salkeld
Robert		

BISHOPS.

Ethelwald 1183	Marmaduke Lumley 1430	Richard Senhouse 1624
Bernard 1157	Nicholas Close 1449	Francis White 1626
Hugh (1) 1216	William Percy 1452	Barnaby Potter 1628
Walter Malclerk 1223	John Kingscott 1462	James Usher 1641
Sylvester de Overdon	Richard Scroop 1464	<i>See Vacant Five Years.</i>
(2) 1246	Edward Storey 1468	Richard Stern 1660
T. de Vetriponte 1255	Richard Bell 1478	Edward Rainbow 1664
Robert de Chauncy 1258	William Sever 1496	Thomas Smith 1684
Ralph Irton 1280	Roger Leyburn 1503	William Nicholson 1702
John Halton 1292	John Penny 1508	Samuel Bradford 1718
John Ross 1325	John Kyte 1521	John Waugh 1728
John Kirby 1332	Robert Aldridge 1537	George Fleming 1734
Gilbert Welton 1363	Owen Oglethorp 1556	Richard Osbaldiston 1747
Thomas Appleby 1363	John Best 1560	Charles Lyttleton 1763
Robert Reed 1396	Richard Barnes 1570	Edmund Law 1768
Thomas Merks 1396	John Meye 1577	John Douglass 1787
William Strickland 1400	Henry Robinson 1598	Edward V. Vernon 1791
Roger Whelpdale 1419	Robert Snowden 1616	S. GOODENOUGH 1808
William Barrow 1422	Richard Milburie 1621	

DEANS.

Lancelot Salkeld	Thomas Smith 1671	George Fleming 1737
Sir Thomas Smith (3) 1547	Thomas Musgrave 1684	Robert Bolton 1734
Sir John Wooley 1577	William Graham 1686	Charles Tarrent 1764
Christopher Perkins 1596	Francis Atterbury 1704	Thomas Wilson 1764
Francis White 1622	George Smalridge 1711	Thomas Percy 1778
William Paterson 1626	Thomas Gibbon 1713	Jeffrey Ekins 1783
Thomas Comber 1630	Thomas Tullie 1716	ISAAC MILNER 1792
Guy Carleton 1680		

(1) There is great difficulty in ascertaining the real character of the early prelates of this see. From its situation, as a barrier against the incursions of the Scots, the city of Carlisle experienced many vicissitudes in remote ages; and the actions of its ecclesiastical ruler were often greatly misrepresented in the heat of political disputes. The truth of this assertion is evinced by the contrary epithets bestowed, in ancient documents, on Hugh, the third bishop. King Henry III. in letters to the pope, which are still preserved, praises the peculiar zeal of the bishop, in all matters relating to the interest of the church; whilst the Chronicle of Lanercost, accuses him of alienating the possessions of the see, and observes, with a severity that is all but impious, and which cannot be too strongly reprehended, "that, by the just judgement of God, he perished miserably at the Abbey of le Forte, in Burgundy, as he was returning from Rome."

(2) This prelate is memorable, as one of the most active and spirited of those who were advanced to this see, in the early reigns. He gained the respect and commendation of churchmen by the zeal with which he protected the rights of his bishopric; and in regard to his political conduct, he is entitled to more extended praise. It must not be forgotten, while perusing the list of our bishops, that Sylvester was one of the prelates who, in the presence of his sovereign, pronounced the anathema, "with bell, book, and candle," against those who infringed the liberties of England.

(3) Sir Thomas Smith was equally eminent as a scholar and politician. He was secretary of state to king Edward VI. and afterwards to queen Elizabeth. This distinguished dean of Carlisle was author of several literary publications, among which may be noticed his "Commonwealth of England."

INDEX TO CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

*. The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.

Abbey repaired by prior Gondibour, *i*.—Alban, St. singular circumstance relating to the chapel of, *k*.—Aldridge, bishop, a poet and orator, *o*; encourages Henry in his six articles, *ib.*; complimented by Erasmus, *ib.*—Aisles, paintings placed in, by bishop Senhouse, *k* N.—Arthur, king, mansion house of, *e* N.—Assassins attack bishop Kirby; his brave defence, *g*.—Arms and devices on the old roof, *i* N.

Belfry built by bishop Strickland, *k*.—Best, bishop, a man of exemplary piety, *p*; arms himself and adherents against the papists, *ib.*—Bede, venerable, account of the prosperity of the northern parts of England, *b* N.—Bishops, list of, *r*.—Bravery, uncommon, displayed by bishop Kirby, *g*.—Brass coins discovered, *c*.—Burn, Dr. etymol. of Carlisle, *e* N.

Carlisle, a place of distinction before the Roman invasion, *e*; said to have been built by prince Luell, *ib.*; rebuilt and fortified by king Egfrid, *ib.*; etymol. of its name from Leland, Camden, &c. *ib.* N.; citizens murdered by the Danes, *b*; description by Leland, *ib.* N.; erroneously considered as part of the see of Lindisfarne, *ib.* N.; attached to the see of Durham, *ib.*—Cathedral, chapel of St. Catherine in, founded by a citizen of Carlisle, *k*; chapel of St. Alban not consecrated; divine offices in it prohibited, *ib.*; west front destroyed, *i*; choir re-modelled by bishop Welton, *k*.—Cumberland, its etymol. *b* N.; the remarkable literary characters it has produced, *p* N.—Cuthbert, St. visits Carlisle, *a*.—Custom, singular one practised at Queen's College, Oxon. *g* N.

Danes murder the citizens and ruin the city, *k*.—Deans list of, *r*.—Dimensions of the cathedral, *q*.—Denton, extract from his account of Carlisle, *c*.

Edward I. resided some time at Rose Castle, *l* N.—Elizabeth, queen, refuses to permit the elevation of the host at her coronation, *o*.—Erasmus compliments bishop Aldridge, *ib.*—Ethelwald, prior, first bishop, *c*.—Etymol. of Carlisle, *e* N.—Excommunication, revengeful application of, by bishop Ross, *l*.

Fire, the cathedral and half the town consumed by, *f*.

Gale, Dr. etymol. of Carlisle, *e* N.—Gondibour, prior, repairs and enlarges the abbey, *i*.—Goodenough, Dr. his excellent papers in the "Transactions of the Linnean Society," *q*.

Henry I. re-edifies Carlisle, *b*; makes it a bishop's see, *c*; founds a college of priests, *ib.*—Henry II. receives the honour of knighthood in Carlisle, *c* N.—Henry VII. employs bishop Kyte as ambassador to Spain, *a*.—Honorius III. removes the canons, *e*; his sordid disposition, *f*.—Hugh, abbot of Beileu, made bishop of Carlisle, *f*.

Indulgences granted for rebuilding the choir, *f* N.

Kirby, bishop, his palace burned by the Scots, *g*; suspected by the pope, *ib.*; a commissioner for peace, *ib.*; the result not propitious, *ib.*; attacks and overcomes the Scottish army, *ib.*; re-edifies the cathedral, *k*; ac-

companies the princess Joan to Castle, *ib.*—Knighthood, the honor of, conferred upon Henry II. *c* N.

Leland's etymol. of Carlisle, *e* N.; account of the town, *b* N.—Learning, men celebrated for, born in Cumberland, *p* N.—Lyttleton, bishop, repairs the choir, *k*.—Lynastock, castle of, given to the priory, *e* N.

Magazine, orthodox, its malignant attack on the Bible Society, *m* N.—Merks, bishop, his character portrayed by Shakespeare, advocates the cause of Richard III. *b*.—Miracles, supported by Dr. Milner, *m* N.; wonderful one performed by bishop Lignori, *ib.*—Monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary, *b*.

Nave, part of it destroyed to erect guard-houses and batteries, *i*; fitted up as a place of worship for the parish of St. Mary, *l*.—Nicholson, bishop, author of the "Historical Libraries," *q*.

Oglethorp, bishop, honoured by Mary, *o*; appointed one of the disputants against Cranmer, Latimer, &c. *ib.*; crowns Elizabeth, *ib.*; dies of a broken heart, *p*.—Organ, new one, built by Avery, *k*.

Paulinus is offered the bishopric, which he refuses, *e* N.—Paintings placed in the aisles by prior Senhouse, *k* N.—Papists burn the rev. W. Sautre as a Wickliffe, *m* N.—Percy, earl, a bishop of Carlisle, *a*.—Protestantism unites all the physical and natural sciences to divinity, *q*.—Plantus, quotation from, *k* N.—Pulpit, altar-piece, &c. finished by Mr. Carlyle, *k*.—Plates, description of, *q*.—Priors, list of, *r*.—Priory of St. Cuthbert, repaired, and its college founded by king Egfrid, *a*; brass coins buried beneath its steeple, *c*; its remains discovered in founding the new church, *d*; its monks of the order of St. Augustin, *e*; renounce the papal authority, and act in open opposition, *ib.*; value of the priory at the dissolution, *ib.* N.; the canons expelled by Honorius III. *ib.*

Queen's college, singular custom practised there, *g* N.

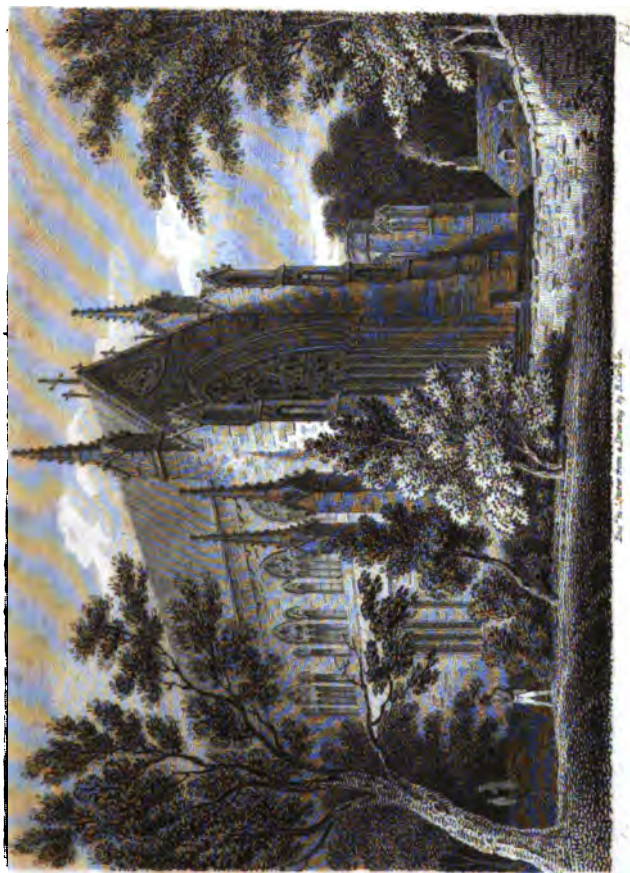
Reliques discovered in the priory, *d* N.—Religious foundations, Denton's account of, *c*.—Rose castle, palace of, its etymol. *l* N.; destroyed by Oliver Cromwell, *ib.*—Robinson, bishop, a great patron of learning, *p*.—Roof, arms and devices on, *i* N.—Ross, John, made bishop by the pope, contrary to the will of the sovereign, *l*; his insatiable avarice, *ib.*

Senhouse, prior, description of his tomb, *k* N.—Scots ravage the city and burn its records, *f*.—Sculpture, very ancient, discovered, *d*.—Stalls, position of the decanal one, *k*.—Strickland, bishop, his election annulled by the pope, *m*.

Throne, bishops, design furnished by lord Camelford, executed by Mr. J. Carlyle, *k*.

Usher, bishop, finds an asylum in Carlisle, *q*.

Walter, a Norman priest, restores the ecclesiastical buildings, *b*; made prior and governor of the city, *ib.*; gives lands and rectories to Carlisle, *c*.—Window, great east, dimensions of, *t*.—William II. repairs the city, *b*.—Whelpdale, bishop, founds a chantry, *k*.



John of Carls Cathedral.

To the Rev. Isaac Wilner, Dean of Carleton.

The Date is most Respectfully inserted

My best regards to Mr. & Mrs. J. W. R.

Whitewings shot by Diamond, Vicki & James Patterson in Reno



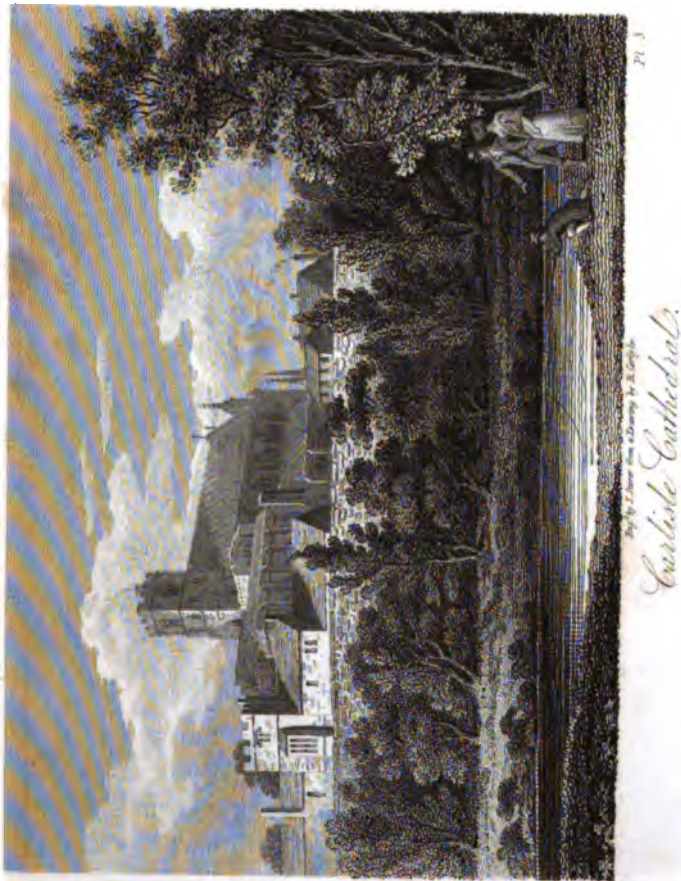
The Cathedral from the entrance by R. W. G. L.

St. Ann's of Carlisle Cathedral.

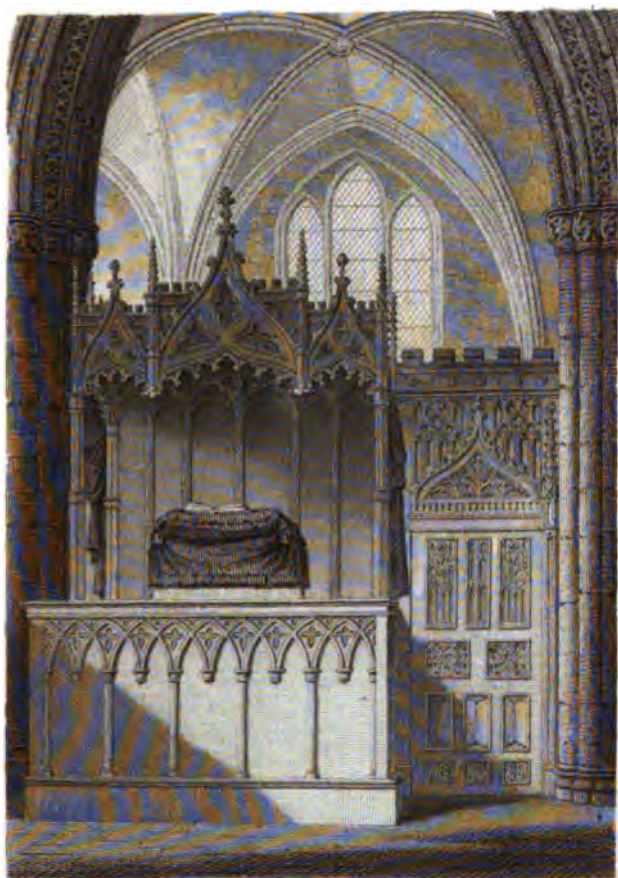
To the R. Rev. & Samuel Goodenough, D.D., R. & P. M. S. L. A.

Lord Bishop of Carlisle. This Plate is most respectfully

Presented by his Lordship's humble Servant, J. W. G.



Published by J. G. 1841, 10, St. James's Street, London.

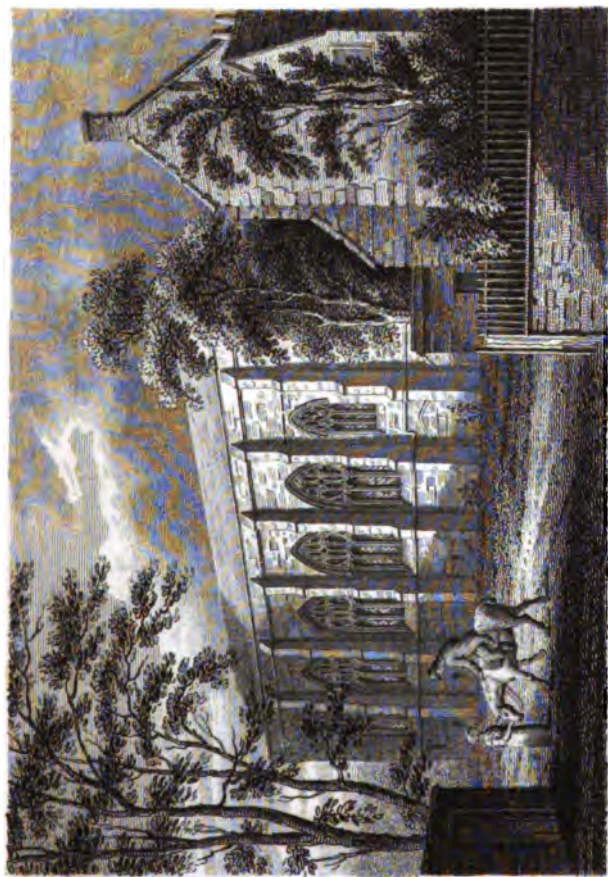


The Bishop's Throne, Carlisle Cathedral.

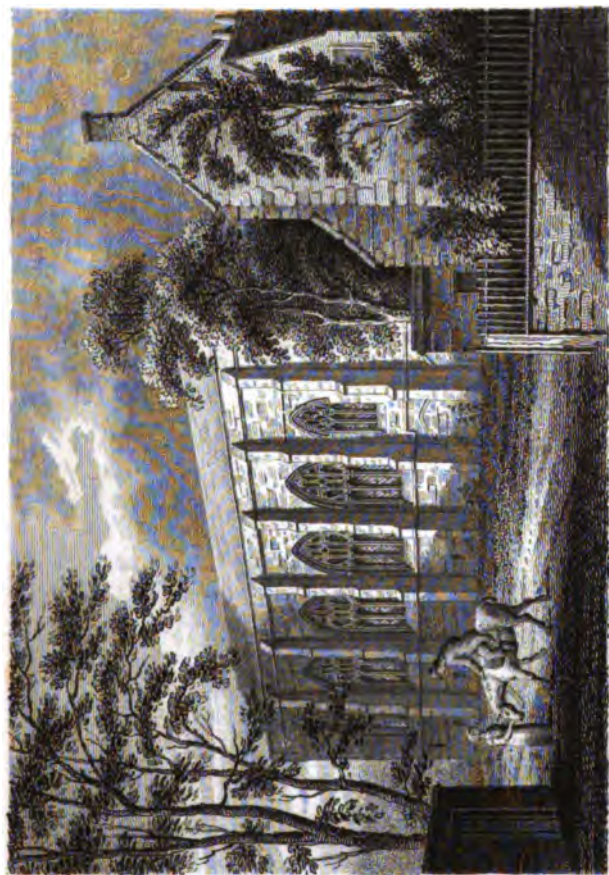
Pl. 4.

The Bishop's Throne, Carlisle Cathedral.

Published July, 1844, by Messrs. G. & J. Jones, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

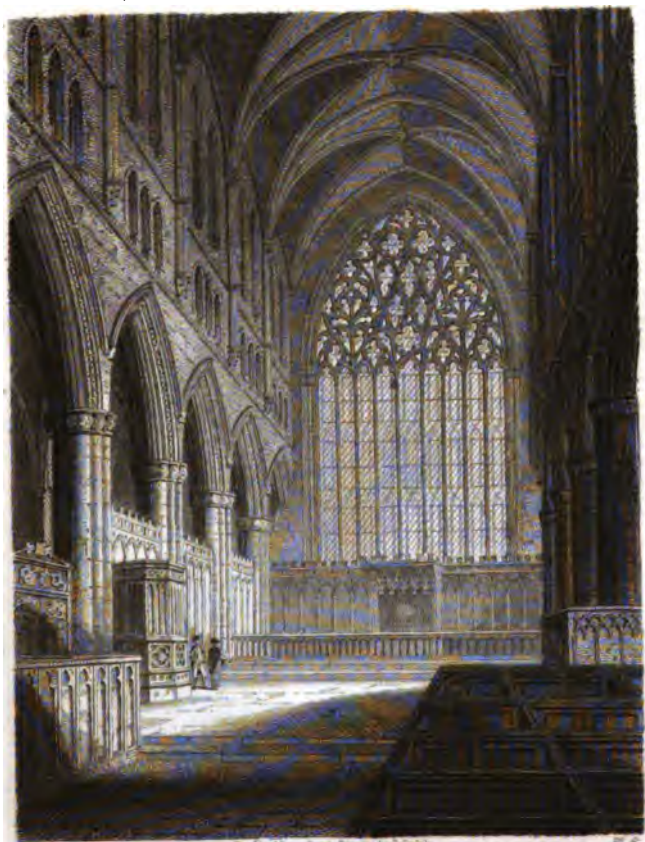


Chapter House, Carlisle Cathedral.



Chapter House, Carlisle Cathedral.





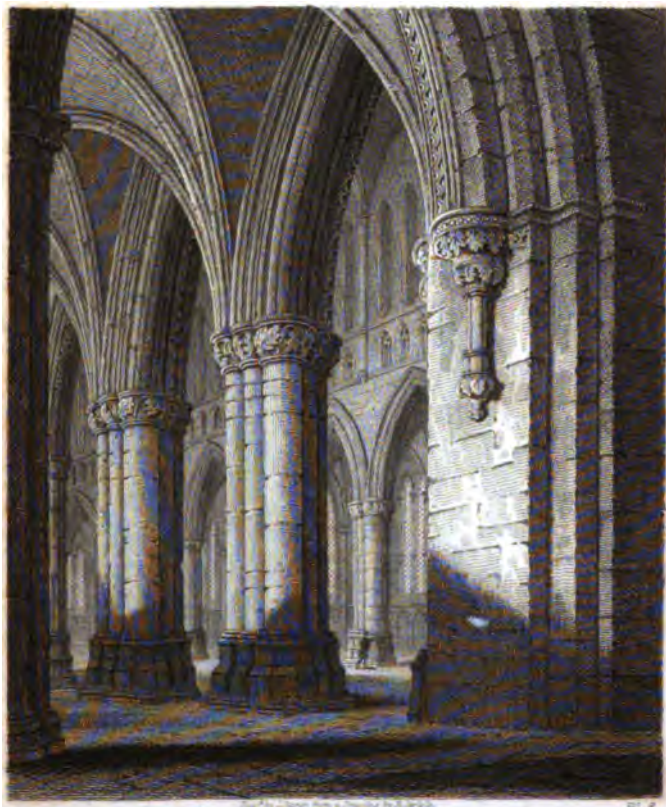
The Choir, Carlisle Cathedral.

Painted by James Watson & Son, Glasgow, 1850.



A View of Chartres Cathedral

Painted by John G. Thompson, Esq. in 1840



Interior of Carlisle Cathedral, from the N. aisle.

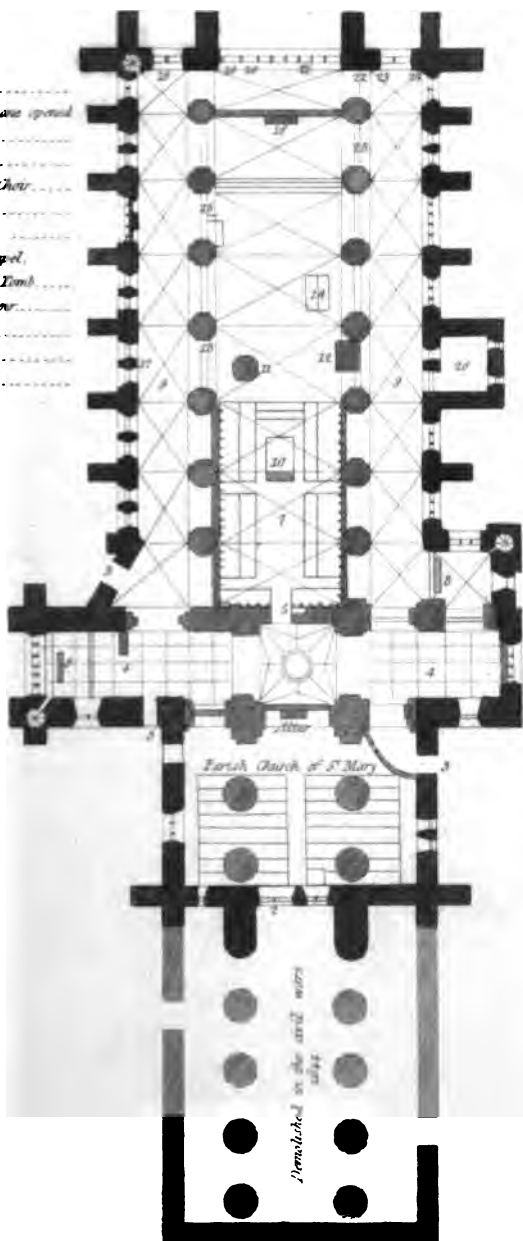
Engraved from a drawing by J. G. Smith.

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

Shewing the groining of the Roof

- 2 West Window.....
- 3 Doors the South are opened into the Choir.....
- 4 Transept.....
- 5 Entrance to the Choir.....
- 6 Consistory Court.....
- 7 Choir.....
- 8 St Catherine's Chapel, with B^p Brown's Tomb.....
- 9 Aisles of the Choir.....
- 10 B^p Bell's Grave.....
- 11 Pulpit.....
- 12 Bishop's Throne.....

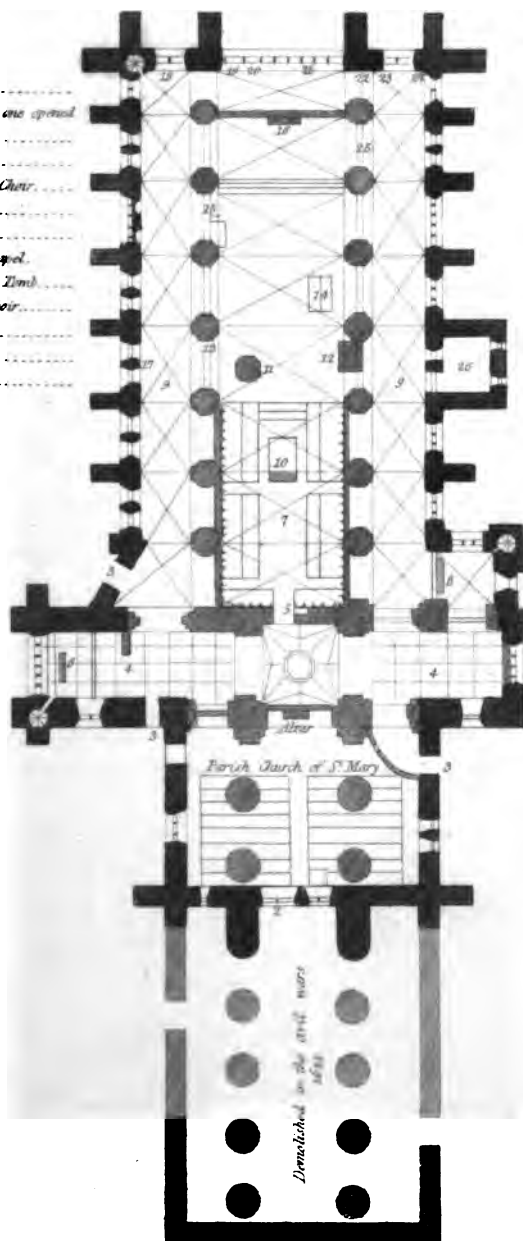
- 13 B^p Laws Mon^t.....
- 14 Graves of B^p Smith & his Lady.....
- 15 B^p Robinsons Mon^t.....
- 16 Altar.....
- 17 B^p Stricklands Tomb.....
- 18 M^r Tomlinson's Mon^t.....
- 19 M^r Benson's D^e.....
- 20 M^r Saunders's D^e.....
- 21 Rev^d M^r Thompson's D^e.....
- 22 Rev^d Archdeacon Fleming's D^e.....
- 23 B^p Fleming's D^e.....
- 24 His Lady's D^e.....
- 25 Dean Wilson's D^e.....
- 26 Vestry.....



100 Feet

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

Shewing the groining of the Roof



- 2 West Window.....
- 3 Doors the South one opened into the Vestry
- 4 Transept.....
- 5 Entrance to the Choir.....
- 6 Choir.....
- 7 St. Catherine's Chapel with Bp. Barron's Tomb.....
- 8 Aisles of the Choir.....
- 9 Bp. Bell's Grave.....
- 10 Pulpit.....
- 11 Bishop's Throne.....

- 12 Bp. Laws Mon.^t.....
- 13 Graves of Bp. Smith & his Lady.....
- 14 Bp. Robinsons Mon.^t.....
- 15 Altar.....
- 16 Bp. Stricklands Tomb.....
- 17 M. Tomlinson's Mon.^t.....
- 18 M. Benson's D.^r.....
- 19 M. Saunderson's D.^r.....
- 20 Rev. M. Thompson's D.^r.....
- 21 Rev. Archdeacon Fleming's D.^r.....
- 22 Bp. Fleming's D.^r.....
- 23 His Lady's D.^r.....
- 24 Dean Wilson's D.^r.....
- 25 Vestry.....

120 Feet

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND SEE

OF

Chester.

CHESTER is a truly protestant see, and they who cannot revere it for its antiquity, may respect it for its original purity and exemption from all vulgar idolatries. The city of Chester, however, has been, during time immemorial, the seat of Christian learning and piety*. Its history is coeval with that of the country. The county of Chester was, at an early period, inhabited by the people called Cornavii. After the Romans became its possessors, it was included in Britannia Superior, and subsequently it became part of Flavia Cæsariensis. When the Romans retired, the Britons resumed the possession of our city†, and retained it, with only one short intermission of a few years, till 828, when Egbert reduced the whole Saxon heptarchy to his authority. The first attack of the Saxons was in 607, and as it was founded on religious motives, it merits attention. The facts are recorded by Bede and all our early historians, otherwise they would excite doubts of

* "The first origin of this ancient city, observe two of our most judicious and respectable antiquaries, is enveloped in obscurity; the conjecture of sir Thomas Elliot, that it was called Neomagus, and that it was built by a great grandson of Noah, is entitled to as much credit as the legend of Ralph Higden, the monk of St. Werburgh, who attributes its foundation to Leon Yawr, a great giant, and makes king Lear its restorer. The most probable conjecture is, that Chester was one of the fortresses constructed by Ostorius Scapula, for the security of the Roman army, after the discomfiture of Caractacus. It is certain, that the twenty-first legion, called 'The Victorious,' was stationed at Chester in the reign of Galba, and the allusion to this circumstance in the British name of the city, *Cæst-Leon* or *Duffr Dwy*, the city of legions on the water of Dee, seems to connect it with its first origin. It has been asserted, that the walls of Chester were first built by Marius, a British king, grandson of Cymbeline, who began his reign in the year 75, and that he was buried in this city. Holinshed, whose history is a compilation from various ancient chronicles, tells us, that he was buried at Carlisle; but the whole history of Marius is doubtful. It is certain, that Chester was a walled city before 908, and there is no reason to doubt that the walls were originally built by the Romans; the old east gate was unquestionably a Roman work, and the various antiquities discovered within the walls, are a proof that the Romans occupied the site of the present city." *Lycens, Mag. Brit. and Rich. of Cirenc.*

† According to Lambarde, they called it *Cæstloun* or *dour Du*; the Saxons called it *Legacæstre*; and the Latin writers *Neomagus*, *Deva*, or *Orcallum*. "There is such affinity of name between this towne and three others, that partly by the ignorance of some authors, but chiefly by the error and mistaking of such as have written their bookes into copies, they may be many tymes confounded. As *Cæstleon* sometime taken for this and sometime for *Leycester*, which ought, in Saxon copies, to be written *Legacæstre*, and Chester in the byshoprike; which the Saxons called *Cumacæstre*, and we, Chester in the Strete. It toke the Saxon name of the Roman legion that wear wont to sojourne there, not in *Cæsar's* tyme, as *Malmesbury* sayeth, but after, as *Leland* affirmeth. It is called *Deva* (by Bede) of the Ryver Dee that washeth it."

(a)

their accuracy or authenticity. Athelfrid or Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, determined, it is said, to revenge Augustine's quarrel with the British clergy, marched against Chester, which he captured and desolated. On this occasion it was affirmed, that he "slew the captain Brocmalio and 1200 learned men of the colledge of Bangor," who had a residence near our city. This number would appear incredible, did not Bede inform us, that the religious of that society were so numerous, that they were divided into seven communities, each of which consisted of 300 persons, whose affairs were regulated by a provost and other rulers, and that they all maintained themselves by the *labour of their own hands**. Dreadful, however, as this slaughter was, the triumph of king Athelfrid seems to have been of very short duration, as the British princes assembled an army, attacked and defeated him with equal carnage, and drove him beyond the Humber. Thus terminated the first religious war in this country. On returning from their victories (in 609 or 613) one of the British princes, Cadwan, was elected king of Wales, and Chester continued a British city for more than two centuries, till Egbert united it to the kingdom of Mercia. About 894 the Danes besieged it, but were ultimately defeated by Alfred's stratagems. Between 905 and 908, Ethelfrid, duke of Mercia, and his wife, Ethelfleda †, the "undegenerate daughter of Alfred the Great," rebuilt Chester and walled it. "After that, (observes Lambarde, about 971) king Edgar came to this towne in great tryumphe, accompanied with eight princes, which promised upon their othe to aide him against the Danes, and did homage unto him. He took his barge (sayeth Marianus) and holdinge the stercer himselfe, these princes rowed him from the palaice to St. Jhon's monasterie, and home again."

At what period churches and religious houses were first erected in Chester, there exists no authentic record. The most ancient known was that of St. Peter and St. Paul, which formerly occupied the site of what was afterwards the abbey of St. Werburgh, and now the cathedral.

* It is obvious, that such associations of active men must be of incalculable advantage to the public in the first ages of society; and that by the necessary division of their labours, they must have carried the arts and sciences to very considerable perfection.

† This illustrious princess was a woman of very superior mind and prodigious energy. The most splendid actions of her brother Edward's reign have been considered as the effects of her counsels; her time, genius, and talents, being all devoted to the service of her country. After the birth of her first child she separated from her husband, deterred by the pangs of childbirth to hazard its recurrence; observing, that "it was beneath the daughter of a king to pursue any pleasure attended with so much inconvenience." Henceforth she devoted herself to deeds of arms, and to acts of munificence and piety. She built and refounded cities; erected nine castles in different parts of England; subdued *Brecanmere* or Brecknock, made its queen prisoner, and took Derby by storm; but lost four *thames* within the place. Her valour made her so celebrated, that the titles of lady or queen, were deemed unworthy of her greatness; and she was dignified with those of lord or king.

It has, indeed, been asserted, that a religious establishment for women, was founded here by Wolfhere, king of Mercia, about 660, and that his daughter Werburgh, since called a saint, was the abbess. The tale is rejected by bishop Tanner and all subsequent writers; and also the fable of Werburgh having lived three years with her husband, and still continuing a virgin. "It is better ascertained," observe Messrs. Lysons, "that about 200 years after Wolfhere's time, there was a monastery at Chester, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and that the bones of St. Werburgh were removed thither for security, during an invasion of the Danes in 875. It is not known of what sex the religious of this convent were; but we learn, that having fallen into a state of decay, it was rebuilt and enlarged in the reign of king Athelstan, by the celebrated Ethelfleda, countess of Mercia, who placed in it secular canons, and altered the patron saints to St. Oswald and St. Werburgh." Leofric, earl of Mercia, and husband of the celebrated lady Godiva, is said to have been a great benefactor to this convent, and to have repaired its decayed buildings. The munificence of kings Edmund and Edgar, was also directed to this religious establishment, which continued to flourish till after the Norman invasion, when Hugh de Auranches, commonly called Hugh Lupus, a nephew of William, duke of Normandy, was created earl of Chester; the king granting him, says Camden, "the whole county of Chester, to hold as freely by the sword, as he himself held the kingdom of England by the crown." Hence Chester became a county palatine, having its own parliaments, courts of justice, &c.; and it was not till 1542, that it sent representatives to the parliament of the realm. In 1093, Lupus expelled the secular canons from St. Werburgh's abbey, and placed Norman Benedictine monks in their place. Sickness and a troubled conscience, are the alleged causes of this outrage; and possibly, as Pennant remarks, "he did not care to trust his salvation to the prayers of the Saxon religious." These monks were under the direction of Anselm, afterwards the obstinate archbishop of Canterbury. Henry Bradshaw, author of the *Life of St. Werburgh**, thus speaks of Lupus's foundation:

"The founder also buylded within the monasterie,
Many mighty places convenient for religion,
Composed with stronge walles of the west partle,
And on the other syde, with walles of the towne,
Closed at every ende with a sure postron.
In south part the cimiterie environed rounde aboute,
For a sure defence enemies to hold oute."

Earl Lupus, according to Ord. Vitalis, terminated his career in

* This writer, whose work "The Holy Lyfe and History of Seynt Werburge," was printed by the celebrated Pynson in 1581, and only two or three copies of it are now in existence; gives a detailed account of St. Werburgh's shrine being received at Chester with great solemnity, and

this monastery, having professed a monk three days before his death. His gloomy disposition in the decline of life naturally led him to superstition, and he left the abbey a considerable part of his fortune, in order to purchase him happiness in another world*. The succeeding earls of Chester also made liberal grants to this monastery, which continued to flourish in wealth and luxury till the fullness of time produced the general dissolution, when its revenues were estimated at £1003 : 5 : 11. clear annual income. About three years after the dissolution, king Henry, in this instance, at least, not unmindful of the interests of true religion, changed the conventual church of St. Werburgh into the cathedral church of Christ and the Virgin Mary; and placed in it a bishop, dean, and six prebendaries. John Bird, bishop of Bangor, who had been provincial of the Carmelites, was appointed the first bishop of Chester; Thomas Clerk, the last abbot, became the first dean; and Henry Man, a Carthusian monk of Sion, was the second; and afterwards became bishop of Sodor and Man.

With respect to the origin and progress of the edifice now used as a cathedral church, very little is recorded; and its architectural history has too often been dismissed, with the very laconic and no less erroneous observation, that it was built during the reigns of Henry VI. VII. and VIII. That the original foundation of this religious building took place during the very first age of conventual structures cannot be doubted, as its cloisters are situated on the north side of the church, just as we find them in warm climates. This circumstance alone satisfactorily proves, that the building must have been constructed before experience had taught English architects the necessity of raising such parts, in this cold and cloudy atmosphere, on the south and warmer side of the edifice. The body of the building also, is not due east and west. Hence, we have clear and unequivocal internal evidence of the high antiquity of the original building; and however imperfect the information may be, respecting the old monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, the conjectural inference from Hoveden, that it was rebuilt about 906, by duke Ethelfrid and his princess Ethelfleda, on their re-edification of Chester, seems to carry with it all the force of authentic history. In the north entrance and north aisle of the nave (pls. 1 & 2) several circular arches appear where the south cloister for-

deposited in the old church of St. Peter and St. Paul. The miraculous powers of his heroine, of course, are duly celebrated by his ready muse; many legendary tales of her wonderful preservation of the good city are minutely and faithfully related, especially in one instance, where he gravely states, that the army of Gryffin, king of Wales, then besieging Chester, was stricken with blindness, in consequence of St. Werburgh's shrine being placed on the walls.

* Vitalis describes him as "not only liberal but profuse. He did not carry a family with him but an army; he kept no account of receipts or disbursements, but was perpetually wasting his estates, and was much fonder of falconers and huntsmen, than of cultivators of the land and holy men."

(d)

merly stood, and which, doubtless, was the cause of their preservation. A cellar in the bishop's palace, on the same side of the church, and adjoining the west cloister, extending about 19 feet by 17, has a circular arch on the south side, the pillars of which are ornamented with Saxon mouldings. These parts are generally admitted to be as ancient as the time of earl Leofric, by whom the church was repaired in the 11th century, and who died in 1057. Adjoining the bishop's palace and the west cloister, is a building 90 feet long and 30 wide, with a row of short circular pillars running down the middle, from which diagonal vaultings of round arches spring. "This seems to be coeval with the other parts of the building above noticed, and was the great cellar under the abbot's hall, which remained entire until the year 1649." The chapter-house is the next in antiquity. This building, and the ancient refectory of the convent, part of which was converted by Henry VIII. into the nobler purpose of a school-room, are admitted by our architectural antiquaries, to be among the early examples of Gothic or pointed architecture. Mr. Dallaway, with much propriety, dates their erection or alteration in the 12th century, and Messrs. Lysons, "early in the 13th;" they all, however, refer them to the same founders, the earls of Chester; the former, to Randal Meschines, who died in 1128; and the latter, to Ranulf, or Randal de Blundeville; as the chapter-house was the burying-place* of the earls of Chester. These earls being sovereign princes, it seems probable, that their first thoughts should be devoted to the erection of

* Here is still preserved part of a stone coffin, joined to a stone ornamented with sculptured wreaths, in one of which appears a wolf's head erased, in the other are the initials R & joined in a cipher. This is said to be part of a stone coffin discovered in the chapter-house, by Mr. Henschman, a schoolmaster, in 1793, and supposed to be that of Hugh Lupus, the first Norman earl of Chester, whose bones were transferred from the cemetery into the chapter-house, in the reign of Henry I. The stone coffin enclosed a body wrapped in leather; "the skull and all the bones were very fresh, and in their proper position, and the strings which tied the ankles together were entire." It is not stated, that the stone with the wolf's head formed part of the coffin, and the only reason assigned for its being the coffin of Lupus is, that the place where it was found agreed with that of his reinterment, as described in an ancient MS. Messrs. Lysons consider this sculptured stone to be "the work of a later age, when armorial devices were become common, which do not appear to have been introduced in works of art in this country, before the reign of Richard I., nor on sepulchral monuments till the 13th century. The earliest example of armorial devices which we have remaining, is that on the shield of this monarch, on his great seal. Though the wolf's head erased is given by Brooke and others, as the armorial bearing of Hugh Lupus and his nephew, yet there is no reason for supposing it to have been coeval with them; in later times, indeed, it was considered by the convent of St. Werburgh, as the arms of their founder, and as such, is introduced on some parts of the conventual buildings, and at Lighton-hall, a seat of the abbot." The "form of the letters," observe these learned antiquaries, "in the cipher, is exactly that which prevailed in the 14th century, and the initials R & would suit Richard Seynesbury, who became abbot in 1349." But this abbot resigned in 1363, and died in Lombardy; consequently it cannot be a part of his sepulchral monument, but may probably be "part of a cross, or some other work, executed in his time." With due deference to the authority of such experienced judges in this matter, we cannot reconcile the cipher to any customary form or combination of the letters R & in any age. Taken upright, it represents R & T much nearer than R & S, but the nearest representation of it, seems to be an upright R placed across an old A laid on its side. The wolf's head appears rather to be the common enigmatical pun on the name, than an armorial device.

an edifice worthy of becoming their mausoleum, and detached from the other monuments in the church. It is therefore more likely, that the building was begun by the first earls in the 12th century, although it was perhaps not finished, as Messrs. Lysons conclude, till the 13th. The chapter-house has lancet-shaped windows, between which are slender detached shafts, with rich foliated capitals. "The vestibule of this apartment is a singular building, the groined roof being supported by pillars which unite with the groins, without any capitals. The refectory must have been a very noble room; it was 98 feet in length and 34 in width; the east window consists of several lancet-shaped lights, between which are slender pillars with fasciæ on the shafts; in the south wall at the east end, is a stone staircase, with trefoil-headed arches open to the hall. (See pl. 6.) The north aisle of the choir seems, from the form of the windows, to be not much more modern than the chapter."

King, in his "*Vale Royal*," asserts, that a great part of the cathedral was rebuilt in the 15th century: "the pillars of the choir and nave, are massy and clustered; the capitals of the former are plain, and those of the latter are much enriched with foliage; the arches are pointed, the part above them appears to have been rebuilt at a later period, except the space over one arch, westward from the cross, where the balustrade of a gallery is formed of quatrefoils*, and where a break in the wall clearly indicates the beginning of new work." Mr. Pennant, who, it is well known, was no friend either to Saxon or Norman art, modernizes his view still farther, and dates the the actual appearance of our cathedral even a century later†. "All the labours of the Saxons, and almost all of its refounder, Hugh Lupus, are now lost. The abbot Simon Ripley, who was elected in 1458, finished the middle aisle and the tower; and the initials of his name are interlaid in ciphers on the capitals of some of the pillars." All our historians, indeed, agree, that "several parts were rebuilt, repaired, or altered, in the latter end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, under the auspices of abbots Ripley and Birkenshaw; the former of whom was a great benefactor to the church." The

* "The architecture of this part, nearly resembles that of the choir of Carlisle cathedral, a work of the 14th century, where is a similar range of quatrefoils over the arches." *Lysons*.

† The discovery of facts, and the consequent extension of knowledge, will ultimately check this singular, and, to the writers respecting our city, peculiar propensity of supposing every thing much more modern than what it in reality is. In the present month (June 1815) four silver coins were found in the cleft of an oak-beam, over the shop window of a confectioner, in Shoemaker-row. One is of Edward III. and the others of Henry IV., and all are in fine preservation. Previous to this discovery, our lynx-eyed antiquaries had concluded, notwithstanding the great antiquity of the city, that there is no house now standing in Chester, of more than 250 years old. The house in which these coins were found must be much older; and it is not improbable, that they may have lain in the oak-beam near 400 years.

west front, the first stone of which, it is stated, was laid with great ceremony, in 1508; the upper part of the choir and nave, part of the north transept, and the cloisters, were all modulated about this period. The design seems to have been to vault the nave and the choir, and the commencement of the vaulting appears in several places; but it was never completed. The cloisters formed a square of 110 feet on each side; the south cloister which adjoined the north aisle of the nave has been removed*; the others are in a state of good preservation. In the east cloister is a large lavatory, like that in Gloucester; the roof is groined with stone, and ornamented at the intersections with roses, the symbols of the evangelists, and shields, on which are the arms of England, see of York, of cardinal Wolsey, and of the earls of Chester. As the entrance into the cathedral is a descent of several steps; it furnishes additional reasons for believing that the present edifice "was raised on the foundation of the ancient church, which was originally on a level with the old streets. The tower, which stands on four massy pillars in the middle, was primarily designed, according to tradition, to support a lofty spire†. The centre beneath is greatly injured by a modern bell loft‡, which conceals a crown work of stone, that would have a good effect, was the loft destroyed." The choir, which contains twenty-four stalls on each side, is very neat; and the tabernacle-work is equal to any thing in the kingdom. It is separated from the nave (commonly and incorrectly called the broad aisle) by a screen which supports the organ; on the upper part are the arms of earls of Chester, the see, and those of the old barons. The choir ceiling was repaired in 1708. The arches in the galleries above it are divided by pretty slender pillars, and have been presumed to be "of a date prior to the body of the church, probably the work of abbot Oldham," who was bishop of Man, and abbot from 1452 to 1485, "a great benefactor to, and had a concern in, the building." In the chancel are "four stone stalls for the officiating priests," surmounted

* Parts of four arches of this cloister are remaining in the wall, under which were interred four of the mitred abbots, viz. Richard, William, Ralph, and Robert de Hastings, the first, second, third, and sixth governors of the abbey. In the cloisters is a flight of steps which led to the dormitory, the kitchens and extensive cellars of the monks.

† This tradition, however, is differently interpreted, or rather other inferences have been drawn from a vague expression in King's Vale Royal. Notwithstanding the statement of Browne Willis, it is alleged, that "it appears to have been their intention (abbots Ripley and Birkenshaw) to have erected two towers at the west end; and these must have been meant by 'the steeple of the abbey,' which is said to have been begun in 1508." But as two towers cannot make a steeple, it is more probable that the allusion was to the design for a spire on the centre tower.

‡ It has five large bells, recast during the prelacy of bishop Lloyd, in 1604-5. Other accounts ascribe the refounding of the bells to his predecessor bishop Vaughan, who flagged and paved the nave throughout. The great bell, observes Willis, had this inscription, "Ave fidelis anima *Werbarga* sanctis spira felix in choro virginum. Ora pro nobis. *Johannis Berchenshaw, abbas Cestrie.*"

with sculptured ornaments, and a recess for holding the sacred utensils. But the piece of antiquity which has excited most attention in our cathedral, is the finely-sculptured monument, now used as the bishop's throne. It is an oblong square, consisting of two stories or compartments, ornamented with pillars, arches, pinnacles, niches, and rich foliage, and formerly stood in the *sanctum sanctorum*, in the east end of the choir, whence it was removed soon after the reformation, and converted into an episcopal throne. Respecting the precise name or use of this elegant piece of ancient art, authors are not agreed. It is generally denominated St. Werburgh's shrine*, the patron saintess (if the word be admissible) of the abbey; but Mr. Pennant considered it only the pedestal on which the real shrine was placed; and Messrs. Lysons†, with more propriety, as the "sepulchral monument which formerly inclosed the shrine of St. Werburgh. It is of stone, and exhibits a rich specimen of Gothic architecture, in the style of the early part of the 14th century; the foliage of the crockets is singular (somewhat resembling broad oak-leaves) especially of those with which the arches of the base are ornamented." Round the upper part is a range of small images, designed to represent Mercian kings and saints. "Each," says Mr. Pennant, "held in one hand a scroll, with the name inscribed. Fanatic ignorance (during the civil war) mutilated many of the labels as well as the figures; the latter were restored about 1748; but the workman, by an unlucky mistake, had placed female heads on male shoulders, and given manly faces to the bodies of the fair sex. There was originally thirty-four of these figures, but four of them have been lost." The "upper part or canopy of this monument, appears," (observe Lysons) "to have been shortened, when it was converted into the episcopal throne, which gives it a heavy appearance."

East of the bishop's throne and near the altar, in the south aisle of the choir, is another monument, which has attracted no little attention. Tradition represents it as the monument of Henry, emperor of Germany, and nearly all our historians and antiquaries, agree in denying the possibility of such a thing; one stating, that Henry IV. was buried at Spire; and another, referring to the testimony of German historians respecting the burial-place of Henry V. the husband of the English princess, Matilda or Maud. It is an altar-tomb, with a plain marble slab laid on it; the sides are ornamented with tracery in which

* Dr. W. Cowper, in 1749, published "A summary of the Life of St. Werburgh, with an historical Account of the Images on her Shrine." This tract was incorporated with *King's Vale Royal*, and published with other matter in the *History of Cheshire*. 2 vols. 8vo. 1778.

† These authors give a view of this shrine, from a drawing by Mr. F. Nash, which contains an outline of what it is presumed must have been the original extent of this monument.

are quatrefoils, inclosing leopards' heads and roses alternately. This is one of the many cases where scepticism is rather the consequence of indolence than inquiry. Although the legend of king Harold, having recovered from his wounds, became a monk at Chester, died, and was buried in St. John's church, be altogether unfounded, like many other monkish tales; yet, it does not follow, that the tradition respecting Godescallus or Godestallus, a reputed emperor of Germany, is entirely without foundation. By the former tale the monks might gain something, by the latter nothing. Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Chester when the very cotemporaries of Henry V. might be still living, mentions the tradition, that an emperor of Germany spent the latter part of his days as a hermit in a desert place near Chester, and was buried in this city, having confessed his rank when in the agony of death. In an ancient chronicle called the Red Book of the Abbey of Chester, in Woodnoth's collections, the following sentence occurs: "A°. 1110, rex Henricus dedit filiam suam Godescallo imperatori Alemannæ, qui nunc Cestriæ jacet." A street called Godstall-lane, is mentioned in the time of Edward III. as adjoining the church-yard of St. Werburgh's Abbey, and presumed to have derived this appellation, from being the residence of a German emperor who assumed the name of Godescall. The circumstance of its being ornamented with leopard's heads, it must be confessed, does not contribute to verify the tradition, as the German emperors at that period were of the house of Franconia, and those who have subsequently adopted the leopards, are of the house of Hapsburg. But considering the savage character of the German emperors in the 12th century, and the atrocious conduct of Henry V. to his father, it is not at all impossible, that some one of them might seek a retreat near the celebrated abbey of St. Werburgh. Neither is it improbable, that the empress Maud may have raised this altar-tomb as a cenotaph in the abbey-church, with the design of having mass daily said at it; which, from her reverse of fortune, she was unable to realize. Either supposition is more probable, than that men, without any motive of honour or interest, as was the case in this instance, should devise a story totally false and groundless. Had a generation passed away before it was recorded, then, indeed, the tradition might have been peremptorily classed with the multitude of monkish fabrications; but with such historical and traditional evidence of its antiquity, this monument must be considered as very ancient.

Among the distinguished characters whose memory has been recorded, either by monuments or tablets in our cathedral, may be mentioned, bishops William Downham, 1577; George Lloyd, 1615;

(i)

George Hall, 1668; Nicholas Stratford, 1707; and Samuel Peploe, 1752: Deans, James Arderne, 1688; and William Smith, 1787. Dr. Arderne, the author of several valuable works, deserves to be remembered, for leaving his whole property to the cathedral church, particularly to form a library of books in the chapter-house. The name of Dr. Smith is well known and respected, for his elegant and elaborate "translations of Longinus, Thucydides, and Xenophon." His monument* is from the chisel of Banks. The monument to Dr. Samuel Peploe, chancellor of Chester, 1781, is by Nollekens; that to arch-deacon Travis, 1797, is by Turner. Dr. Lawrence Fogg, author of "Treatises on the Christian Religion," &c. 1718, is also among the distinguished divines whose existence is recorded in our cathedral. Mrs. Barbara Dod, 1703, who left some estates to the six minor canons, well deserves to be mentioned with the laics; and also, general Whitley, 1771; John Hamilton, esq. secretary at war, 1781; and sir Charles Levinge, bart. 1776. Many brass-plates, with effigies and epitaphs of abbots and other ecclesiastics, have been destroyed. Our cathedral suffered much during the civil war; and continued, according to Lee, in a very dilapidated state in 1656. The loyalty of Chester was, indeed, sufficient to arouse the vindictive passions of the parliamentary soldiers. A monument justly records the loyalty and services of Sir William Mainwaring, who, in his twenty-ninth year, lost his life during the siege of Chester, 1644.

Having traced the history of our cathedral from the few scattered records which have survived the tooth of time, the ravages of desolating predatory warfare, and the no less destructive power of prejudice; we must notice the ecclesiastical chiefs who presided over the abbey during nearly five centuries. St. Werburgh had twenty-eight abbots, but comparatively few of them are recorded in the annals of their country, either for their virtues, vices, or talents. Nevertheless, they were neither inactive nor imbecile spectators of the passing events of their day. In general, however, they were more attentive either to their individual interest, or the interests of their convent, than to gain popular applause or even court favour; their revenues were very extensive, and their expenditure inconsiderable; consequently their riches

* In digging a grave for this learned and worthy dignitary, near the bishop's throne, a coffin was found, having a roof-shaped lid, and within it was a leaden coffin. It was afterwards opened, and the body appeared to be in fine preservation, and to have been in a liquor or pickle which had an agreeable smell. It was supposed to be the body of abbot Birchelsey or Lythelles, who died in 1594, and was buried under a grave-stone, which had his effigy on it in brass, in the south side of the choir. On his breast was a crucifix, embossed upon a piece of vellum. It must be observed, however, that it has been customary to ascribe one of the three monuments under arches, in the south wall of the south aisle of the choir, to abbot Birchelsey. Two of these monuments have crosses-scores on the slabs which cover them; and besides Birchelsey, they have been ascribed to abbots Bebington 1549, and Mershton 1585.

must have occasionally awakened jealousy and excited alarm. Yet abbot Seynesbury was deposed by the Pope for mal-administration. And Oldham, who was abbot thirty-three years, to 1485, also held the bishopric of Man. From that period till the reformation, the abbey became a theatre of contending factions (lead on by their respective demagogues, who aspired at the supreme rule), instead of a temple of piety and charity. Much of the present cathedral has been ascribed to abbot Birchenshaw, who was elected in 1493, and died in 1535; but we cannot confide in the architectural works ascribed to him, when we consider that his life must have been a continued struggle for authority; that by factions he was deposed, and succeeded about 1524 by Thomas Hyphile or Hyphild; who again, about four years after, was obliged to give way before the superior influence of Thomas Marshall. The latter, however, had scarcely seated himself in the abbot's chair, when he was compelled to yield it to its legitimate occupant, Birchenshaw. His successor was Thomas Clark, the last abbot and first dean of the new protestant establishment; but if we may infer the period of his death from the date of his will (and there is no conflicting testimony), he did not live above six weeks to enjoy his new dignity. As to the bishops of Chester, previous to the reformation, their existence is chiefly nominal; and when it was actual, their cathedral was St. John's church. Cheshire was properly in the diocese of Lichfield, but many prelates preferred residing here, and hence were called bishops of Chester. In King's Vale Royal, there are twenty-six bishops of Mercia, from the famous Ceadda or St. Chad in 669, to Leofwin in 1054, enumerated, as adding the name of our city to their titles; and since the Norman invasion, Petrus, in 1067, virtually held his see in Chester; and Alexander de Stavensly was consecrated bishop of Chester, at Rome, by pope Honorius in 1224. According to the canons of Lanfranc in 1075, given by Spelman, the see of Lichfield was formally removed to Chester; but the succeeding prelate transferred his see to Coventry. As to the alleged nomination or erection of Chester into a see, by Theodore's canons of 673, there is nothing authentic respecting it in the Saxon canons, published in the elaborate works of Spelman and Lambarde. The bishopric of Chester, indeed, as before observed, is truly protestant; the work of Henry VIII. in consequence of the towering ambition, and lawless life of pope Leo X.* and his relation, the mean, licentious, and unprincipled Clement VII.;

* As to the monster, Leo X. who has lately been so bepraised in the ponderous volumes of polished inanity, by Roscoe, or verbose absurdities by Eustace, dean Milner truly observes, "Persons of taste and of loose morals, who are sceptics in religion and lovers of learning, will always be most disposed to treat his character with tenderness; however, all attempts to prove Leo a religious man are sure to fail." *Charol Hist.* p. 568.

the latter indulged himself with an indefinite number of concubines, but would not allow Henry to divorce his unfaithful wife. His successor Paul III.* was, if possible, still more extravagantly vicious; and happily for mankind the reformation rapidly extended over Europe, and has continued ever since to gain a firm and certain ascendancy over superstition and idolatry.

Our cathedral has been more fortunate in its bishops than the abbey† was in its abbots, and many of the bishops of Chester occupy the very first places‡ in the annals of enlightened piety, learning, the

* It is said, that the bull issued by this prodigal against Henry VIII. was dictated by one of his concubines. In the tribune of St. Peter's at Rome, is the sarcophagus of this pope, having two female figures of dazzling white marble, representing Prudence and Religion (the satirical wit of the sculptor); the latter is particularly attractive, a "tender virgin with the loveliest limbs, because the faithful likeness of Clelia, a natural daughter of that pope." This figure was originally naked, but latterly has received a girdle.

† Perhaps, among other causes for this may be mentioned, that the abbey never enjoyed, so extensively, the privilege of sanctuary, as many similar religious establishments. In the reign of Henry VIII. Chester was, by act of parliament, made one of the sanctuaries during life, to all persons guilty of minor offences; but, in consequence of a petition from some of the principal inhabitants, Stafford was substituted in its stead. The privilege of sanctuary was wholly abolished in the reign of James I. It appears, that the abbey could protect criminals only during the celebration of the feast in honour of St. Werburgh. Lupus granted the abbey a fair of three days, with its tolls; during which, the abbot was to have the privilege of punishing all transgressors; and no thieves or malefactors were to be arrested in the fair, unless by the abbot, for offences there committed. This privilege occasioned a vast assemblage of vagrants, minstrels, musicians, players, &c. On one occasion the Welsh attacked earl Randle, in the castle of Rhudland, during the fair; the mob thus collected were marched off as if to encounter the enemy, and their apparent numbers had the effect of making the Welsh abandon their attempt, and raise the siege of the castle. For this, he rewarded his constable, de Lacy, by giving him full powers over all the minstrels, musicians, and vagrants, in Cheshire, for ever; authorizing him to assemble them every year on the festival of St. John Baptist. This privilege has been continued in the family of the Duttons, and four bottles of wine, with a lance, and a fee of fourpence-halfpenny for a licence, was required from the minstrels and strolling women on this occasion. This ceremony was annually celebrated till the middle of the last century (1736); and it appears, that the privilege, by purchase, is now vested in T. L. Brooke, esq. of Mere, who bought it in 1776. As some writers have misinterpreted the term *meretrix* used in the Dutton grant, it may be proper here to observe, that in the vulgar sense, no such person as a licenced meretrix, or what the Spaniards call *ramera*, ever existed in Chester; it was applied to women engaged in the *autos sacramentales*, or dramatic representations of the bible history, some of which were written by Randal Higgenet in 1597, and performed (by *coccatori* or *meretrices*) till the reformation, and were abolished only in 1574. The following ordinances of the corporation, demonstrate attention to public morals and even dress, by the bishops, mayors, and civil officers. In 1519, it was ordered, that all children above six years of age should be sent to school or to some useful employment, and to their parish church on Sundays; the afternoon of those days, however, were to be devoted to shooting with bows and arrows. In 1540, no woman, between fourteen and forty, was allowed to keep a tavern or alehouse, under penalty of 40*s*.; in 1581, "no wife, widow, or maid, should keep any tavern," &c.; in 1640, the expensive presents to women in childbed and churching were abolished, under penalty of 6*s*. 8*d*. for each offence; at the same time, no unmarried woman was allowed to wear white or coloured caps, and no woman to wear a hat unless riding; in 1556 (4th of Mary), the Christmas breakfasts to be laid aside, for men to apply themselves to religious duties, and all "mummings and disguises to be left off"; in 1616, no players allowed in the common-hall, nor admitted to "act within the liberties of the city, after six in the evening."

‡ Our city, considering its comparatively small population, has also produced its due proportion of "great men in arts and in arms." Roger of Chester, and Ralph Higden, two ancient historians; Bradshaw, the poetical biographer of St. Werburgh; David Middleton who settled the trade at Bantam, and his brother, who navigated the Red Sea and discovered the Straights known by his name; John Downham, son of the bishop, and author of "The Christian Warfare;" Edward Brerewood, a mathematician, and first professor of Gresham college; S. Molyneux, an eminent astronomer, and son of Molyneux, the dioptrical writer, and friend of Locke; Dr. Whittingham, dean of Durham, translator of the Geneva bible, versifier of the psalms,

sciences and arts. Bishop Bird, our first prelate*, a native of Coventry, was, indeed, a man of the most easy sentiments and humane feelings. He was successively a carmelite, bishop of Ossory, of Bangor, and of Chester. At all times loyal to his sovereign, he yielded to the powers that be; but in an evil hour "he took unto himself a wife," and when the sanguinary Mary came to the throne, and the murdering Bonner into power, no concession or penance of our prelate, although in his 78th year, could atone for such a natural and rational act. Mary, after returning from one of her nocturnal interviews with her paramour and first love, cardinal Pole, ordered him to be deposed; and Bonner, in this instance, declining to shed the blood of his flatterer, made him his suffragan, and gave him the rectory of Dunmow, in Essex, which he lived only two years to enjoy. His successor, George Cotes, who was literally an usurper, had all the sanguinary ferocity which marks the character of idolatrous superstition; he used the lady chapel as a consistory court, where, as a man of blood, he sat in judgment on all persons whom he thought proper to denominate heretics†.

signed W. W.; William Cowper, M. D.; Thomas Falconer, esq. the learned annotator on Strabo; his brother, Dr. Falconer, of Bath; and many others might be enumerated, as deriving existence and the rudiments of their education in our city. To their military prowess, Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, has paid a just tribute of respect. Many of the heroes also of the Peninsula are Cheshire men; among whom is general Sir S. Cotton, now lord Combermere. Speed and Holinshed, two of our best national historians; Thomas Egerton, lord chancellor Ellesmere; the three antiquaries called Randle Holmes; the *loyal poet*, sir John Birkenhead; bishop Thomas Wilson; Lawrence Barnshaw, the great mechanician; the prophet Nixon; Mary Davis, whose head produced the horns still preserved in the British Museum; John Thomasine, the celebrated penman, &c. were all natives of our county.

* In 1546, he assigned the estates of the bishopric to the king, for impropriations and rectories. The see was thus denuded of its hereditary possessions; and, with the exception of the single acre "on which the palace stands, and the court before it, another house adjacent, a little orchard called the wood-yard, two houses near St. John's church, a few small tenements in the city of York, and some lands in Boughton and Childer Thornton, bequeathed in 1703," by Mrs. Dod, it is completely destitute of temporalities; and although one of the greatest extent (comprehending the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Westmoreland, with parts of Cumberland, York, Flint, and Denbigh, containing 256 parishes, of which 101 are impropriate) it is esteemed the least valuable in England. The dean and chapter were no less unfortunate in losing all their manors, and receiving in return only their fee-farm rents, which were incapable of improvement. Sir R. Cotton, comptroller of the household to Edward VI. having procured the imprisonment of dean Cliffe and two prebendaries, in the Fleet prison, wrought on them by intimidation, till they conveyed to him almost the whole of their estates; reserving only a yearly rent of 603*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* to the chapter. The succeeding deans endeavoured to set aside this extorted bargain but without much success, although the matter was litigated with great professional ability on all sides. The loss of the estates further appears by the sale of the property of the cathedral, during the Cromwellian spoliation. The episcopal palace was sold in December 1650, for 1098*l.*, and the archdeacon's house, near St. John's church, for 511*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; "so that the total of the sale of the lands belonging to the bishopric, amounted only to 1129*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*"

† The protestant writer who should neglect to mention the following circumstance, when speaking of Chester, must have as little claim to humanity as the veracity of a faithful historian. The fatal tragedy which the bloody queen Mary had determined to perform in Ireland, was prevented by a lady of this city. Dr. Henry Cole, a native of Godshill, Isle of Wight, and dean of St. Paul's, was entrusted with a commission, issued by Mary, to empower the lord deputy of Ireland to institute prosecutions against such of the natives, as should refuse to observe the ceremonies of the catholic religion. The doctor stopped at Chester in his way to Ireland, and being at the *Blue Posts*, in Bridge-street, was visited by the mayor, to whom he communicated the business with which he was entrusted, and opening his cloak-bag took out a leather box, observing "he had that within, that would lash the heretics of Ireland." His

It was in this apartment, dedicated to the worship of Mary, the wife of Joseph, that he gave the order for the murder of George Marsh. Providence, however, beneficently checked his bloody career, and the hand of death arrested his murderous proceedings in little more than a year after his elevation to power. Cuthbert Scot, a vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was next consecrated under the auspices of cardinal Pole; but the accession of Elizabeth was the signal of repose to the tortured protestants, and the superstitious prelate was expelled, imprisoned for his crimes, and ultimately fled to Lorraine, where he died. The see was then vacant two years, at which Willis expresses his astonishment, because "it had no demesnes to alienate," forgetting that Elizabeth was much more anxious to select proper persons to fill the sees, than to appropriate their revenues to her own purposes. William Downham, a native of Norfolk, and her majesty's chaplain, was consecrated in 1561; he, like another of our prelates, Wilkins, devoted his talents to illustrate and facilitate prayer. From that period to the present day, we have scarcely had a prelate who did not distinguish himself in some one thing or other. Chaderton, who was translated to Lincoln, "was a great encourager of the puritanical exercise of prophesying;" he was no less remarkable for his love of money, the grand stimulus and inspiring spirit of all our modern prophets and miracle-mongers. He amassed an immense wealth for an only daughter, whom he married splendidly; but who lived unhappy, and died wretched. Bellot was no less extravagant in another and somewhat contrary principle; "he is reported to have had so strict a veneration for the celibacy of the priesthood, as never to permit a woman to inhabit or live in his house." This imbecility is the more venial, because it is probable he had, when a youth, often heard some female lamentations for the downfall of monkery*. His successor,

hostess (named Edmunda) overheard the discourse, and having a brother of the reformed religion in Dublin, became alarmed; and with a quickness of thought, which in the ages of ignorance would have been deemed inspiration; she took the opportunity of the doctor's attending his visitor to the door, to withdraw the commission from the box, and place a pack of cards in its room. Soon after the dean sailed for Ireland, where he arrived on the 9th of Dec. 1556, and was introduced to the lord deputy Fitzwalter and the privy council: having explained the nature of his mission in a long speech, he presented his box, which his lordship opened, and with considerable surprise, beheld the cards. The humane doctor was thunderstruck, and with much confusion affirmed, that he certainly had a commission, but some person must have made the exchange. "Then," said his lordship, "you have nothing to do but to return to London, and get it reintroduced; meanwhile, we'll shuffle the cards." This sarcastic advice the doctor was constrained to follow; but before he could reach Ireland a second time, the queen died, and her sanguinary commission became useless. The woman, whose dexterity and presence of mind, thus providentially contributed to save the effusion of human blood, was rewarded by the wise and virtuous queen Elizabeth with a pension of 40*l.* a year.

* To those unacquainted with the manners of countries where monks and friars abound, it may be necessary to observe, that these idle and unprincipled men, are constant attendants on all young married women, that they are no less active in fomenting family broils; and that the practice of adultery and robbery is generally as familiar to them, as their prayers to Mary and other dead men or women.

Vaughan, was a very different character; active beneficence and virtue were his study, not the mere inert negation of the grosser vices. He cast new bells, had the west roof of the cathedral covered with lead, and repaired the timber in general; with many other acts of public and private good, during seven years that he filled our see, before his translation to London. Our next prelate, Dr. Lloyd, of a noble family, was no less attentive to the welfare of his bishopric, and the preservation of his cathedral church. At his death Gerard Massie was nominated, but died before his consecration, and consequently is not included in the number of bishops of Chester. Dr. Thomas Moreton, memorable for his sufferings and loyalty in the cause of Charles I., and no less so for his able support of the reformation in general, was consecrated bishop of Chester in 1616. His successor, Bridgeman, suffered severely, from the ferocity of the parliament and the Cromwellian demagogues, and died broken-hearted in 1652, revered by the good and pious of all parties. Our see remained vacant, till the restoration placed in it the learned and amiable editor of the Polyglott Bible, in nine languages; a work which, to the disgrace of the present age, has not been reprinted, and enriched with the fruit of subsequent knowledge. Notwithstanding the proverbial salubrity of Chester*, bishop Walton, unfortunately, lived only a short time to enjoy his well-merited honours. But it is the sacred duty of the local historian, to record with due gratitude, the deeds of those who have been benefactors to our city, and cathedral in particular; otherwise, we might dwell with pleasure on the merits of bishop Hall, son of the pious bishop of Norwich, who has often received the admiration and reverence even of the greatest enemies to episcopacy; the admirable philosopher, bishop Wilkins, at once a luminary of science, erudition, and Christian piety; who taught the learned, with equal success, the most abstruse, and the most useful branches of mathematical and physical science, and the ignorant "how to pray;" likewise the reverend expositor of our religious faith, the ever-memorable bishop Pearson, whose work on the Creed has enlightened and consoled many an anxious inquirer after truth. Yet, the peculiar beneficence and charity of bishop Stratford command our attention; this most worthy prelate, not only repaired the cathedral, but founded the Blue-coat hospital, to support and educate boys during four years, and afterwards

* Cheshire is distinguished for longevity; in March 1592, Thomas Hough, aged 141, and Randle Wall, aged 108, were both buried at Frodsham. Yet Chester has suffered dreadfully by the plague and fire; in 1507, 1517, 1550, 1609-3-4, and 5, the plague and sweating-sickness, carried off immense numbers; in 1647, above 1900 persons died, between June and October. In 1438 and 1583, the city was nearly consumed by fire, and rebuilt by queen Elizabeth and sir H. Cholmondeley. It appears, that within its walls, only one in fifty-eight of the population annually dies; whereas in London, one in every twenty-one dies. Nevertheless, the relation of the male to the female population, is not quite as six to eight.

place them to learn trades and handicrafts; the number now amounts to 130. To Dr. Stratford, commissary of the archdeaconry of Richmond, we are also indebted for the infirmary, towards the erection of which he left £500. Nor can we forget the public and generous exertions of bishop Gastrell, whose valuable collections for the History of Cheshire, have contributed to the accuracy of this work. The singular controversy, which arose between him and his immediate successor, Dr. Peploe, respecting the validity of a degree conferred by the archbishop of Canterbury, is related by Mr. Nichols in his "Literary Anecdotes," where the virtues and talents of this excellent man are duly appreciated. It is wise to have rules for individual discretion, yet it is a deplorable state of society, where implicit confidence cannot be reposed in the discretion of those occupying exalted stations. Of bishop Keene, who erected the episcopal palace at an expense of £2,200, it was truly observed, that "having a liberal fortune as well as a liberal mind, he really merited the appellation of a builder of palaces." But the succession of our bishops presents such a constellation of piety, learning, talents, and virtues, that it is very difficult for the historian to say, whom he should most admire or revere.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Total *External* LENGTH 372 feet; *Internal*, 350; length of the nave 175 feet; of the choir 100; lady chapel 60; of the transept *externally* 200; *internally* 180 feet. BREADTH of the nave, choir, and aisles, 74 1-half feet. HEIGHT of the ceiling of the nave and choir 73 feet; in the lady chapel 33 feet; of the tower 127, which is 45 feet in diameter outside, and 39 inside. The south end of the transept, or St. Oswald's parish church, is a square 102 feet outside, and 80 inside. The minor parts will be found very accurately laid down in the accompanying ground plan, from the correct admeasurements and drawing of T. Espin, Esq. F.S.A.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

- Plate 1.* North Entrance to the Cathedral, at the south-east angle of the cloister, under a Saxon archway; part of which has been destroyed to make room for a grotesque corbel figure, that supports a corner of the rib-work belonging to the first compartment of the groining of the south cloister.
- Plate 2.* North-west View, taken from the North-west angle of the Cloisters; it shews the greater part of the nave, the centre tower, north transept, together with three windows and part of the fourth of the eastern cloister, over which appear those of the ancient dormitory. The Saxon recesses along the lower part of the north aisle of the nave were the burying-places (see note p. g) of the early abbots, some of whose remains were discovered a few years ago.
- Plate 3.* A distant View from St. John's Church. The ruins in the fore-ground are those of the eastern part of St. John's, apparently a chapel attached to the north-east aisle of the choir; they stand in a small pleasure-garden, and constitute appendages of great interest and beauty.
- Plate 4.* South-west angle of the Cloisters, exhibiting several compartments of the Groined Roof. This part is in ruins, the Saxon door-way at the farther end, was originally one of the entrances to the abbey. The stone-work, above the broken part, was put up a few years ago, and protects the vaulting from the weather.
- Plate 5.* West Front. The rich canopy-work on each side the door is rapidly decaying. The dead wall on the left forms part of the episcopal palace, and prevents much of the original building from being seen.
- Plate 6.* Oratory in the South Wall of the Refectory, shewing the Passage or Staircase up to it; the steps are nearly upon a level with the bases of those pillars which constitute the elegant balustrade. It is placed in the south wall of the refectory (the king's school-room) near the east end, and had a communication from without as well as within the room.
- Plate 7.* South Porch and Part of the Nave.
- Plate 8.* An Interior View of the Nave, taken from the Eastern end of its North Aisle. In the distance appear the steps and door of the south entrance, looking obliquely towards the south-west.

INDEX TO CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

*. The italic letters indicate the pages marked at the bottom of the left side ; thus, (a) (b) &c. and the letter N. for note.

Athelfrid killed 1300 monks, b.—Arderne, dn. bequeathed his property to form a library, k.—Abbots of Werburgh, their character, ib.—Abbey, factions in, l.—Armorial devices, when used, e N.—Adultery of monks, o N.

Britons possess Chester, a.—Bangor, college of, b.—Bird, first Bishop, d ; his character and fate, n.—Bellot, bishop, his ludicrous attention to celibacy, o.—Birchelsey, abbot, body of, discovered, k N.—Bishops of Chester before the reformation, e ; characters of, a, o, p, and q ; list of, r.—Bridgeman, bishop, persecuted by the puritans, p.—Birchenshaw, abbot, a builder, b ; his vicissitudes, l & r.

Chester, a protestant see, e ; great antiquity of, ib. ; etymology of, ib. ; Christianity in, ib. ; founded by Ostorius, ib. ; a British city, b ; rebuilt by Ethelfleda, ib. ; first religious establishments not known, ib. ; the earliest recorded was the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, c ; made a county palatine, ib. ; earls of, their grants to the monastery, d ; their burial place, e.—Clerk, abbot and dean, ib.—Cathedral, architectural history of, d ; founded in the first ages of convents, as its cloisters like Gloucester and Canterbury are on the north side, ib. ; probably rebuilt by Ethelfleda, ib ; parts remaining since the 11th century, e ; said to be rebuilt in the 15th century, f ; parts of reconstructed, ib. and g ; descent into, a proof of its antiquity, ib. ; dimensions of, q.—Cloisters on the north side, d ; described, g.—Choir, intended ceiling of, g ; stalls in, ib.—Chaderton, bishop, his avarice and prophesying, o.—Cole, dean, ludicrous issue of his sanguinary mission to Ireland, n, and o N.—Customs, singular in Cheshire, m N.—Cotes, bishop, a murdering papist, a.—Cotton, sir S. lord Combermere, ib. ; Cotton, sir R. his extortion of the dean, ib.

Deva, from the Dee, a N.—Dallaway, Mr. his age of the chapter-house different from that of Messrs. Lysons, e.—Dutton family, singular privilege of, &c. m N.—Davis, Mary, the horn-headed woman, a N.—Dimensions of the cathedral, q.—Description of the plates, ib.—Diocese, extent and value of, a N.—Drayton celebrates the Cheshire heroes, a N.

Ethelfrid or Athelfrid made a religious war on the British Christians, b.—Ethelfleda walled Chester, ib ; her great munificence, goodness, and heroism, ib ; placed secular canons in the abbey, c.—Edgar's triumphal visit to Chester, ib.—Earls of Chester, c ; sovereign princes, e ; probably built the chapter-house as a mausoleum, f N.—Edmunds, Mrs. her presence of mind in preventing the persecution of the protestants, o N ; rewarded by queen Elizabeth, ib.—Entrance of the cathedral, a descent of several steps, g.—Entrance on the north, pl. 1.—Elizabeth, queen, rebuilt Chester, p N.—Edward III. coin of, f N.—Eustace a cotemporary papal writer, extenuates papal crimes, l N.—Espin, T. Esq. his admeasurement of the cathedral, q ; Fogg, Dr. S. his monument and works, k ; Falconer's learned natives of Chester, a N.

Godiva, lady, a benefactress to the abbey,

c.—Griffin king of Wales, his army said to be struck blind by Werburgh's shrine, d N.—Godescall, a German emperor, tradition respecting, examined, i.

Hugh Lupus, first earl of Chester, c ; his extravagance, d ; a reputed founder of the abbey, ib. ; his supposed coffin discovered by Henchman, e N.—Henry IV. coin of, discovered, f N.—Hall, bishop, monument of, k ; his character, p.—Henry VIII. abandoned popery through the crimes of popes Leo and Clement, l.—Higden, a monk and historian, m N.—Higgenet, author of sacred dramas, ib.—Holinshead, a native historian, a N.—Hyphile, abbot, his intrigues, l.

John's church, the cathedral to the see of Lichfield, l.—Interior of the nave, view of, q, pl. 8.

King asserts the cathedral was built in the 15th century, f ; vague expression of, g N. ; list of bishops by, l.—Keene, bishop, his liberality, q.

Lambarde's British and Saxon names of Chester, a N. ; his distinction between this city and other places, ib. ; relates Edgar's visit with eight princes to Chester, l.—Lysons, Messrs. state correctly the first monastery, c ; their date of chapter-house, e ; exposition of the cipher, &c. on the stone coffin of Lupus, ib. ; their proper description of Werburgh's shrine, A.—Leofric, a benefactor, c ; supposed abode, e.—Lavatory in the cloister, g.—Lichfield, bishop of, sometimes held his see in Chester, l.—Lloyd, bishop, his character, p.—Lupus, earl, his character, c ; his coffin explained, e N.

Monastery for women founded by Wolthere, a fable, c.—Mary, queen, her amours with cardinal Pole (overlooked by all our historians), a.—Moreton, bishop, his persecution by the puritans, p.—Milner, dean, his character of Leo's admirers, l N.

Nichols, Mr. his "Literary Anecdotes," q.—North entrance, view of, pl. 1.—North-west view, pl. 2.—Nave, view of, pl. 6.

Oswald, St. monastery dedicated to, c.—Oldham, abbot, a builder, g.—Oratory, q, pl. 6.

Pennant, Mr. his Welsh prejudices, f ; his description of Mrs. Werburgh's shrine, A.—Peplow, bishop, controversy with, q.—Pearson, bishop, his works characterised, p.—Palace, episcopal, sold, a N.

Romans found Chester, a.—Refectory, f pl. 6.—Roscoe, his silly praises of pope Leo X. characterised, l N.—Ripley, abbot, a benefactor, f ; finished the nave and tower, ib.

Saxons first attack Chester, a.—Saxon arches remaining, e.—Seynesbury, abbot, supposed discovery of his tomb, c N. ; deposed by the pope for mal-practices, l.—Spire, tradition respecting, g.—Shrine, remains of, supposed to be Mrs. Werburgh's, A.—Sanctuary, privilege of, limited in Chester, m N.—South porch, pl. 7.

Tanner, bishop, wisely rejects all the fables respecting St. Werburgh, c.

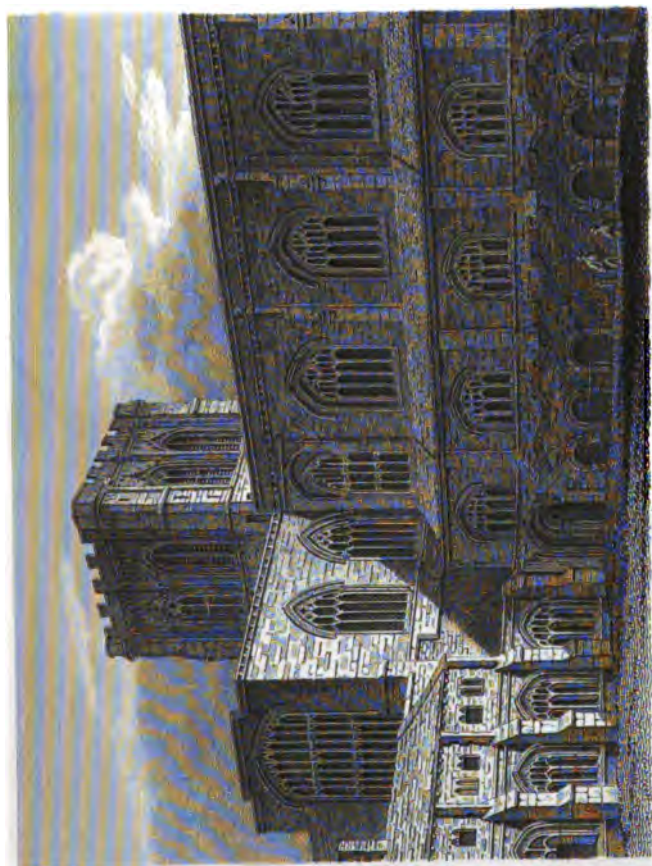
Virginity of Mrs. Werburgh, c.

Werburgh's abbey, c ; shrine in, A.



A Entrance: Chester Cathedral.

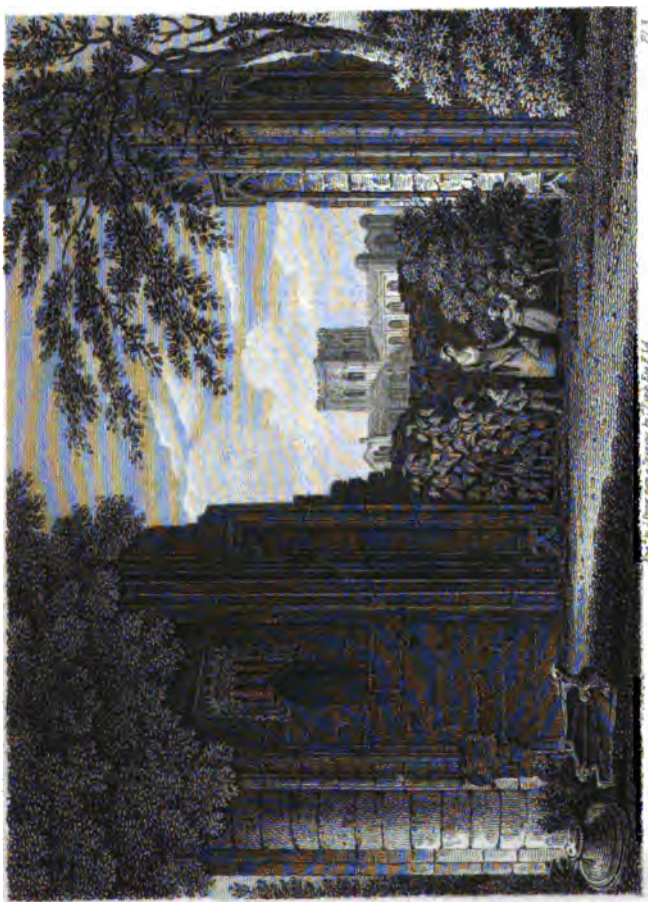
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A View of Chester Cathedral.

The Cathedral is situated in the City of Chester.

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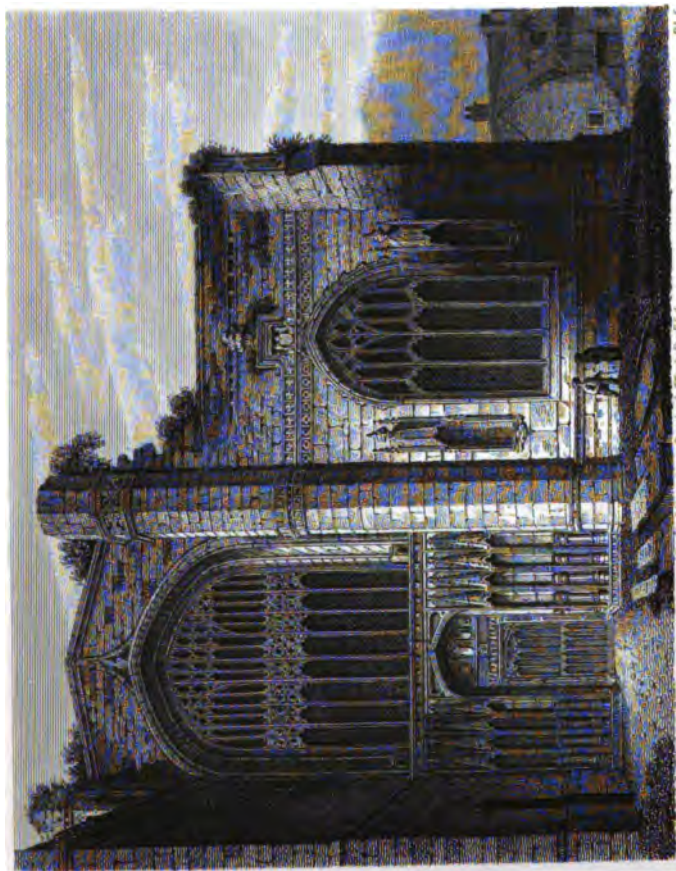
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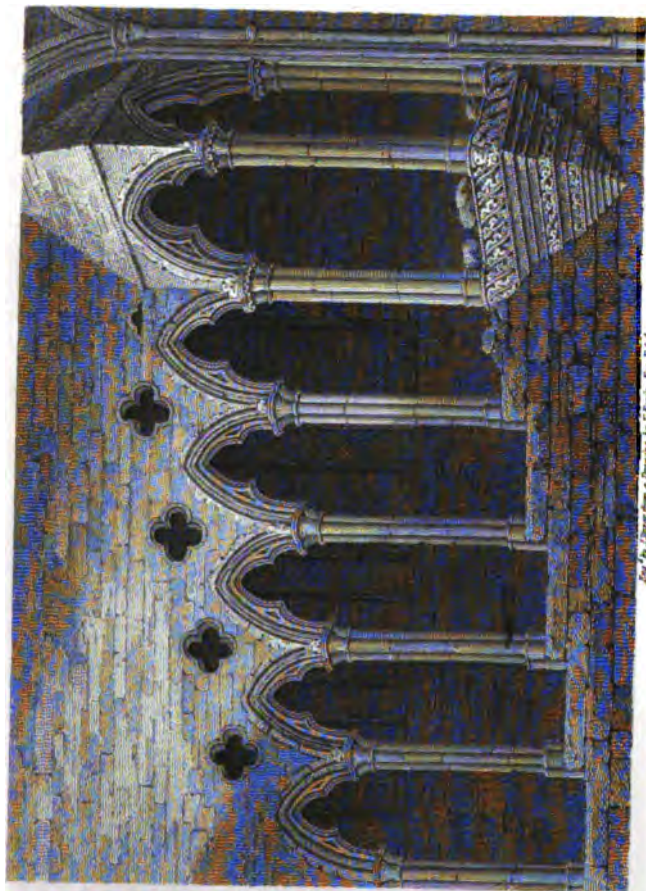
The Choir, viewed from a distance by William Price Esq.

The Choir of the Cloisters, Chester Cathedral.
To J. T. Cooper Esq. F.R.S. in acknowledgement
of his friendly assistance. Generously given to
this Work, this Plate is most Gratefully inscribed.
By his humble Serv't J. Storer.

Engraved by J. Storer, from a drawing by W. Price Esq.



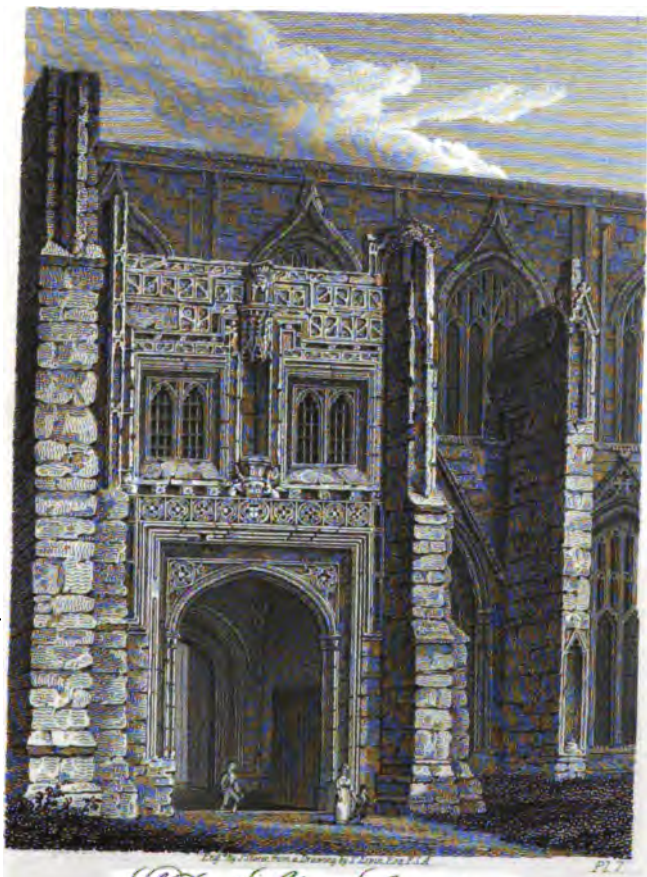
West Front, Chester Cathedral.
To the Rev. & High Chalmersley, R.D. Dean of Chester.
This Plate is Respectfully inscribed.
By his humble Serv't J. J. Gower.



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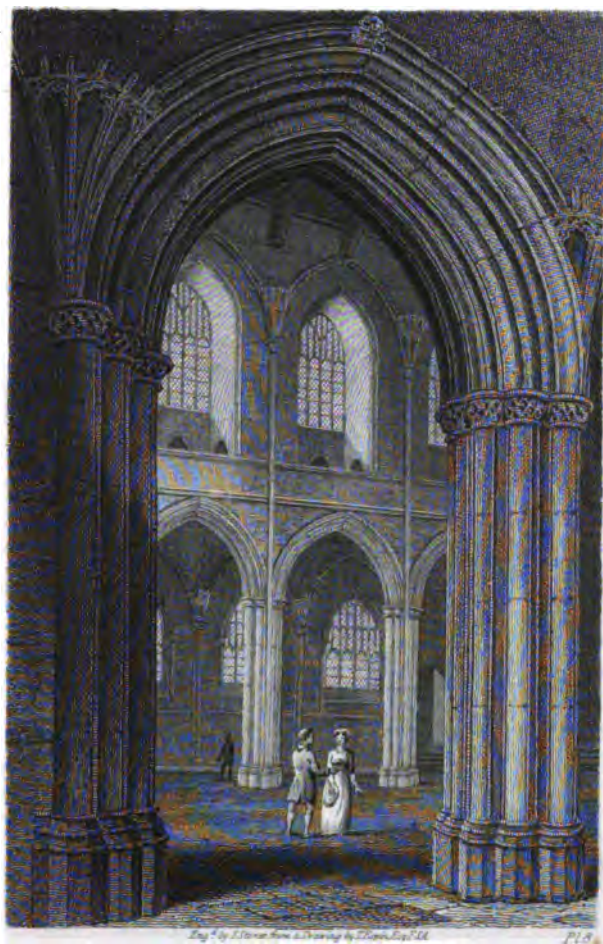
Dormitory, in the Refectory, Chester.

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The West Door of Chester Cathedral.
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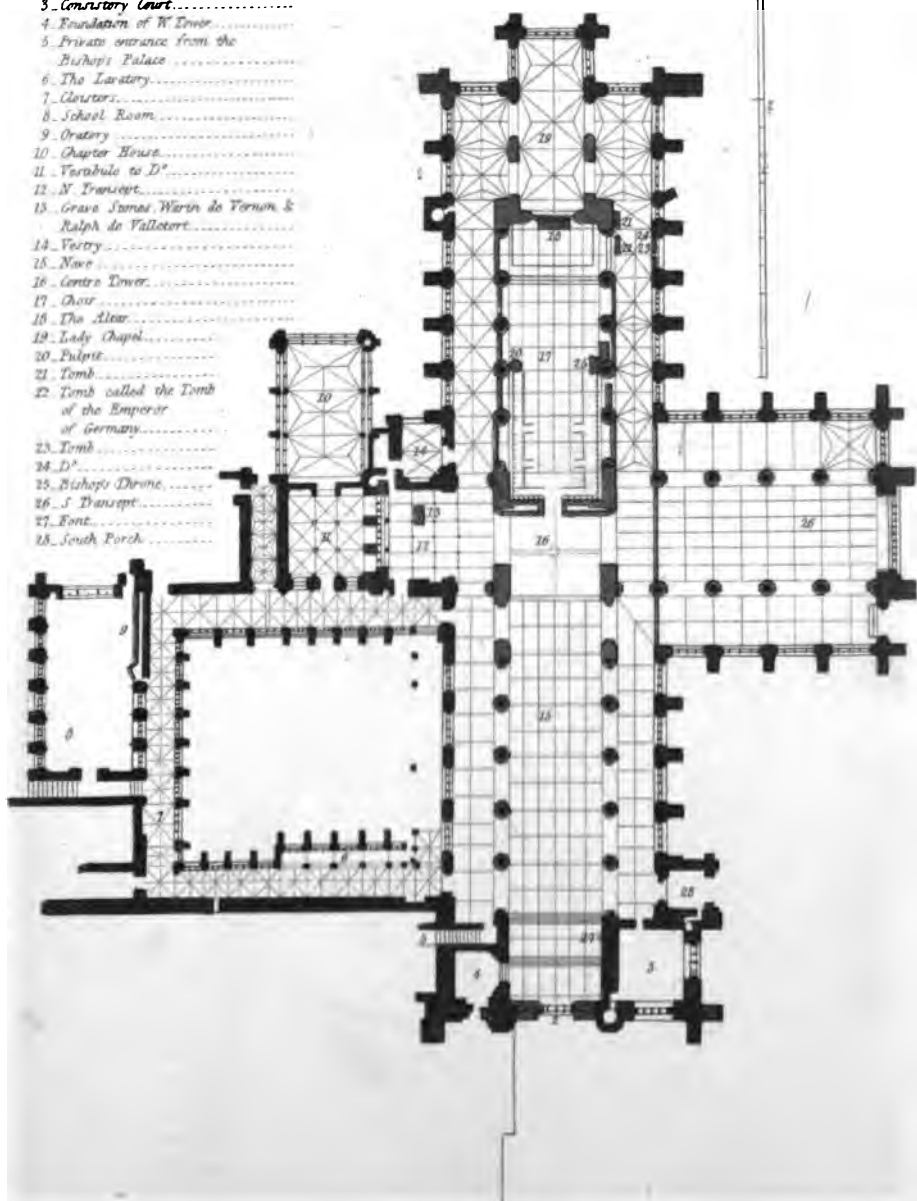
Part of the Nave, Chester Cathedral.

Published under the authority of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Showing the groining of the roof.

2. West door.....
3. Conventry Court.....
4. Foundation of W. Tower.....
5. Private entrance from the Bishop's Palace.....
6. The Lavatory.....
7. Cloisters.....
8. School Room.....
9. Oratory.....
10. Chapter House.....
11. Vestibule to D^o.....
12. N. Transept.....
13. Grave James Warin de Tornon & Ralph de Falloster.....
14. Vestry.....
15. Nave.....
16. Centre Tower.....
17. Choir.....
18. The Altar.....
19. Lady Chapel.....
20. Pulpit.....
21. Tomb.....
22. Tomb called the Tomb of the Emperor of Germany.....
23. Tomb.....
24. D^o.....
25. Bishop's Throne.....
26. S. Dunstons.....
27. Font.....
28. South Porch.....



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